How to open the door to Papiamento?

Aruban language policy in secondary education

Master Thesis July, 2008



Name: Vanessa A.M. Pietersz Student number: 1343238 Supervisor: Prof. Dr. C. de Bot Department of Applied Linguistics

University of Groningen

Pal'I biento¹
By: Quito Nicolaas

Curashi por ta na bida, yen di bida.

E porta cu ta dal habri invita biento drenta sali sin despidi.

Sombra cu e ta brinda aisla di tur cos scondi den mi.

Esun misterio cu e ta abarca di esun imperio su tras, ora mi tende un batimento.

E mesun forma robusto pa fini cu yen di gusto a construi no ta cos cu ta desmantela.

E bunitesa di un aquarelo cu un ciudad di anhelo a contempla su consuelo.

E trankilidad cu e ta ofrece sin cu nada por borota. Unico berdad cu tin scondi su tras, t'e skarnirnan cu ta corda.

Pfpfpfpfpf ...supla biento, supla.

Taken from: © Atardi di antaño, 2005

-

¹ See appendix 1 for an explanation of this poem.

"Riba seru di biento tin un baca maluco. Muchanan cu ta jora baca ta bin come nan.

Sera wowo, core bai. Subi cama, drumi kétu. Baca n' ta bin come nan!"²

The previous quote is from a traditional Aruban nursery rhyme that is sung to children to send them to bed and to warn them that if they do not go to bed and close their eyes the 'bad cow' will come and eat them!

As a young child I really believed my parents and grandparents when they sang this to me even though on Aruba there are no cows to be found. This nursery rhyme and my interpretation of it as a young child, are characteristic for the language Papiamento as a part of the Aruban culture and education.

As a young child that attended primary education on Aruba, I was confused by the books used. We had to learn Dutch from a book that mentioned cows, snow, ice-skating and so on. These were not only part of the culture of a country on the other side of the Atlantic ocean about 10,000 miles away from Aruba, but they were also things not be found anywhere on the Island or in the culture of the island. This feeling of surprise of how I was supposed to learn a second/foreign language I will always carry with me. This was also the start for my fascination for languages and more specifically how *languages* are learned and note the emphasis on 'languages' in general and especially in the complex situation of Aruba.

I see language as a passport to be used to enter a culture, whether one was born in that culture or entered the culture later on in life. But what if a culture consists of several languages; how could one define the appropriate 'passport' needed to enter?

As Aruba is a multilingual society, several languages play a role in education and as the title suggests this thesis is an attempt to open the door to Papiamento in secondary education and try to assign this language a proper role in a play that is called 'Language Policy'.

_

² Taken from: 'De kleur van mijn eiland' (p58).

Dedication and acknowledgements

I dedicate this thesis to the community of the 'One Happy Island' Aruba. The one place in the world where I feel most at home, because of the language and culture that has been inspiring me ever since I was a young child. The culture that taught me to adjust to all different situations I encountered during life in order to be able to grow into the person I am today. The precious gift I received to grow up in a community where different languages are integrated in daily life. I sincerely hope that this thesis will contribute to the enormous challenge of creating a suitable language policy for Aruba where pupils will be able to perform at their best and the community will benefit the most.

I would like thank all the people who helped me during the process of writing this thesis, the people at the Department of Education that opened their doors to me and gave lots of books and reports to use for my research. Also for the time you took to answer all my questions and the tips and valuable and wise advice received from Mr. Dañe, I am very grateful!

I would also like to give a special thanks to the teachers of the four schools that participated in this research; Mon Plaisir college, Colegio Arubano, San Antonio college and EPB San Nicolaas. The time you took to fill out the questionnaire was very important to me, because without your opinions I could not have conducted this research.

Finally I would like to thank Prof.de Bot, a person that has inspired me to write my thesis on the subject of language policy in Aruba, he is a person I respect very much for his wise words and his enormous knowledge. As I told you before doing the Master of Applied Linguistics has been academically the most enlightening experience of my life, and gave me the knowledge and tools to go back to Aruba and help to create new suitable language policies in order to improve education, which is one of the most important things in life.

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	7
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	8
CHAPTER 2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND1	0
CHAPTER 3 BACKGROUND LANGUAGE POLICY ARUBA1	18
§3.1History of Language Policy on Aruba18	8
§3.2 Current language situation2	?1
CHAPTER 4 METHOD2	7
§4.1 Participants2	?7
§4.2 Materials2	27
§4.3 Procedures2	29
§4.4 Design and analyses3	31
CHAPTER 5 RESULTS	3 <i>2</i>
§5.1 Results interviews3	3 <i>2</i>
§5.2 Results questionnaires3	34
CHAPTER 6 DISCUSSION4	18
§6.1 Discussion Interviews and Government publications consulted4	18
§6.2 Discussion Questionnaire5	50
CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH5	53
§7.1 Conclusion5	5 <i>3</i>
§7.2 Suggestions for further research5	54

TABLE OF CONTENTS

BIBLIOGRAPHY	56
Appendix 1 Explanation of poem	58
Appendix 2 Table with drop out numbers	59
Appendix 3 Questionnaire for the teachers	60
Appendix 4 Questions for Language and education policy makers at the department of Education	64
Appendix 5 Results Questionnaire	66
Appendix 6 Results: tables of the arguments provided to the questions 9-17 of the questionnaire	81

Abstract

This study is an investigation on the issues surrounding the role of Papiamento in secondary education on Aruba. The questions for this study were:

The first question is what is the opinion of teachers on the introduction of Papiamento in secondary school and how do they as teachers see the role of Papiamento in the future. The second question is how can a language policy for secondary education be formulated (that uses the teachers' opinions, as they are the ones who have to implement the policy and plans), that builds upon the already existing language policy and plans for primary education.

Major findings are the following:

To the first question, this study has found that teachers observe the struggle pupils have in dealing with the new compulsory subject Papiamento in the first three years of secondary education. Some teachers are positive regarding the possibility to introduce Papiamento as a language of instruction, but point out that the fact that the books used are in Dutch the most plausible solution would be to use Papiamento as a helping tool when giving instructions. The other possible option pointed out by the teachers is the use of another language of instruction like English for example, as this is a language that is closer to the pupil's daily life.

To the second question, this study has found that a larger scale study should be conducted among teachers and secondary schools pupils, after an evaluation of the introduction of Papiamento has been done among pupils in secondary schools. These results could then be used in developing a new language policy to be used in secondary schools. However, the language policy already developed to be used in primary education should be implemented and evaluated, before desiring to implement a new language policy for secondary education that builds upon the one developed and used in primary education.

Chapter 1 Introduction

"All over the world, nations are shifting through political rhetoric addressing issues of language planning and education" (Herrera, p12). Aruba forms no exception, the purpose of this study is a humble attempt to answer the question as mentioned in the title "how to open the door to Papiamento in secondary education?" As Papiamento has already been introduced as a compulsory subject in the first three years of secondary education, one would tend to say that this question is then in vain. As will become clear in this study the issue of language planning in the Aruban educational system is far more complicated and cannot only be resolved by the introduction of the subject Papiamento in secondary schools.

As the teachers form a crucial part in the implementation of any new policy in the Aruban educational system, they are the center of attention in this study together with the administrators and policy makers at the Department of education of Aruba.

This study will start with the description of the theoretical framework chosen for this study, where Cooper's framework (Cooper, 1989) for language planning will be applied on the Aruban language situation to make the theoretical framework of this study complete. An overview of the language, planning and the issues surrounding it in history is helpful in understanding the matter. "Language planning in Aruba involves the use of its indigenous language Papiamento. This is the language spoken on the three islands referred to as the Dutch Leeward Islands: Aruba, Curacao, and Bonaire. However there are two distinct orthographies. In Aruba the orthography emphasizes Spanish lexicon based conventions while the other orthography found in Curacao and Bonaire, favors more of a phonological lexicon based" (Herrera, p126). While many indigenous languages face pressures of language shift and struggle to retain the vernacular language of the people, Aruba's Papiamento is not currently considered to be in danger of extinction, and language planning is very vivid among government officials, linguists and

educational experts. Some of these language planners hope that soon the language of instruction will shift from Dutch to Papiamento in both primary and secondary schools (Herrera, 2003).

The research question of this study can be divided in two parts; the first question is what is the opinion of teachers on the introduction of Papiamento in secondary school and how do they as teachers see the role of Papiamento in the future, the second part of the research question is how can a language policy for secondary education be formulated (that uses the teachers' opinions, as they are the ones who have to implement the policy and plans), that builds upon the already existing language policy and plans for primary education.

Chapter 2 Theoretical background

The theoretical framework chosen for this study is a framework that builds upon the theoretical framework used by the Department of Education in their already published research reports for language policy and planning in primary education. This research report is supposed to provide an initiative for language policy and planning in secondary education, and therefore it is better to continue along the same line. Emerencia (1998) mentions that the theoretical framework used is one based on Socio-Cultural Theory and Critical Pedagogy. "Socio-cultural-historic theories of mind, development and activity suggest that psychological functioning is specific to its social context and is dependent on the mastery of cultural defined modes of speaking, thinking and acting (see Forman ea. 1993). Within a socio-cultural framework, language is in the first place seen as a social-cultural-historic phenomenon. It is the total collective experience of the whole community: its knowledge, experiences, morals, philosophy and emotions" (Emerencia, p.1). From this socio-cultural perspective a theoretical framework must be chosen that builds upon this in the same line. This paper focuses on secondary education that is the building block after finishing primary education.

According to Cooper (1989)"every language problem starts with a social problem". "Descriptive frameworks are molds wherein behavior may be poured to cool and harden for analysis" (Cooper, p 58). The descriptive framework by Cooper chosen for this study is one that builds upon the socio-cultural approach taken by Emerencia, 1998 for policy development in primary education. The model developed by Cooper to describe a language situation takes social-cultural factors/changes into account

The accounting scheme for the study of language planning (Cooper, p98) will be applied to discuss the language policy issue on Aruba.

The area to be covered is too broad, that is why I chose to focus only on the problems that the language policy makers encounter in secondary school, and especially with pupils starting secondary education without having a real solid basis of Papiamento, due to the lack of development in proficiency in primary education.

The first question to be answered according to Cooper is what are the actors? As Cooper himself says it is difficult to determine what description is suitable for actors, how much information is really necessary? I would start to say that there are 2 very important actors. Firstly, it is the policy makers, in this case it would be the department of education on Aruba, secondly it is the teachers in the secondary schools, that have to implement the new language policy where Papiamento is a part of the educational program in there already existing teaching methods.

The second question is what are the attempts to influence behaviors? The structural (linguistic) properties of planned behavior in this case would be that there is homogeneity in the linguistic behavior of secondary school pupils on Aruba, especially aiming at the pupils having Papiamento as their native language but that were educated in Dutch in primary school. The other group consists of pupils who have another native language like Spanish. Both groups should be at the same level of proficiency in Papiamento in order to be able to function in the education program used in secondary schools. Both groups lack sufficient proficiency in both Papiamento and Dutch, when leaving primary school.

The desired level of adoption is in theory proficiency, the pupils should all have reached a certain level of proficiency of Papiamento and Dutch in primary school in order to be able to function in secondary school.

The third question is of which people?

The type of target are organizations, in this case the secondary schools on Aruba who offer Papiamento as a subject as part of the curriculum. On their turn the organizations (the schools) have to target at their pupils to reach the desired levels of proficiency. The schools have to offer opportunities to the pupils to participate in the education program in order to reach the desired level of proficiency of both Papiamento and Dutch. In theory there are many different opportunities to be offered, but research has shown that in practice this is not the case. The main problems lie with the teachers who do not offer enough guidance to the pupils who have to catch in their proficiency levels not gained in primary school. What Cooper mentions is that there is not enough instruction offered in the pupil's mother tongue (Cooper, p50).

Incentives to the target to use planned behavior, the most important incentive would be better results for the school, so to perform better in the statistics of academic performance of the pupils. Secondary schools on Aruba depend on financial support from the government, so when the government introduces new policies, like Papiamento as a subject in the compulsory curriculum is an example of. The schools are obliged to participate in this new development. Here lies also the incentive to reject planned behavior, because of all the factors that play a role when introducing a new subject in the education program at a secondary school, especially the implications it has on the teachers. There is bound to be a great deal of rejection by the target (the schools).

The fourth question is for what ends?

The overt end is the language related behaviors, in the case of Papiamento education programs on Aruba; it is the level of Papiamento and Dutch proficiency among the pupils in secondary schools. Here again splitting the pupils up in a group who speaks Papiamento at home and another group who speaks another language for example Spanish at home.

This level of proficiency is needed in order to assure that the pupils will be able to participate in secondary school; teachers assume a certain level of their students. In other terms the secondary school programs are based on the assumption that when starting secondary school a certain level of proficiency has been reached in both Papiamento and Dutch.

The latent end of this policy cannot clearly be defined, one would have to assume there is an interest in learning Dutch among the Aruban pupils and the ones of Hispanic descent. In that case one could say that their interest will be satisfied when participating in a Dutch education program. For a native Papiamento speaker and a Hispanic pupil, one could say that participating in a Dutch education program will satisfy their interest (or more likely the interest of their parents) because Dutch is a very important language and later on in life one would benefit very much from being able to speak Dutch.

The fifth question is under what conditions?

The situational conditions are the events that have been taking place since the start of the language policy on Aruba. The situation was that the number of drop outs³ from

-

³ See appendix 2 for the table with the number of drop outs

secondary education (probably because of the lack of proficiency in Dutch) kept rising and the government felt the urge to do something about it (PRIEPEP, Grupo modelo di Idioma, 2001).

Policy has been created to implement education programs with Papiamento as most important language in primary schools, next to Dutch, Spanish and English as second/foreign languages. In secondary school Papiamento at first would only be offered as a compulsory subject in the first three years of secondary education and later on there would be a gradient transition to combining Papiamento and Dutch as languages of instruction. The problems are still present; there has not been real improvement in the level of proficiency. This due to the fact that the implementation of Papiamento in primary schools has been delayed and still is not in place. The pupils still leave primary schools without the desired level of proficiency in Papiamento and Dutch.

The structural conditions are:

Political: the laws that have been passed on Aruba to make Papiamento next to Dutch the official languages and to implement Papiamento in primary education and as a separate but compulsory subject in the first three years of secondary education.

Economic: A certain level of proficiency is needed in the most common languages of the island (Papiamento, English, Spanish and Dutch) to be able to have a better job and improve your economic status, and therefore the economy as a whole.

Social/demographic/ecological: In the last decades there have been a rising number of immigrants coming to Aruba. All these immigrants even of illegal status participate in society; they have jobs, have children and these children go to public schools. Most immigrants have Spanish as their native language and because of the low level of their jobs do not have the urge to learn Papiamento and or Dutch, and therefore also raise their children speaking Spanish. However, these children start primary school in a Papiamento-speaking environment and the lessons are mostly offered in Dutch, this continues into secondary education.

The last questions to be answered according to Cooper's scheme is; by what means, decision rules and effect?

As mentioned before the individuals have no real incentive to participate in the education program, where Papiamento has an important role and because of all the factors involved

the organizations (the schools) also tend to have no own incentive to implement the education programs with Papiamento in their organization. An authority being the Government made the laws and considering the complexity of the problem, one would tend to opt for persuasion as a means of implementation. The schools will have to be persuaded to 'properly' implement the education program with Papiamento having a crucial role in it. According to Cooper there are several means possible for example; authority, force, promotion and persuasion. The government develops policies for the schools and the schools themselves have to implement these policies. The authority being the Aruban Government would have to use a strategy where the schools are persuaded to implement the policies in order to reach the desired goals of the policy and this is combined with an element of "force" not literally but because all policies are developed by the Government and schools just have to use these policies. There should be severe control in schools to see whether teachers really offer education in Papiamento next to Dutch in primary schools and give enough attention to the goal of reaching certain level of proficiency. Punishment for not 'properly' implementing the programs, this may sound a bit harsh but considering the complexity of the problem, promotion and persuasion would take up too much time, because the teachers will have to start working according to the programs in order for the programs to work. Promotion could be done by involving the teachers in making adjustments in the programs in order to make it easier on the teachers to work with the programs.

"If policy makers do not conform to the rational paradigm of decision making, it should come as no surprise that they often do not compare the predicted (or hoped for) consequences of a policy with the actual outcome of that policy" (Cooper, p96). There are several reasons for this, one of the most important reasons is that "it is exceedingly difficult to disentangle the effects of a policy from the effects of all variables which may have influenced the projected or desired outcome" (Cooper, p96). This statement made by Cooper is very relevant for the language policy situation on Aruba. There are other variables besides the Government (policy and decision makers) and schools (teachers and pupils). The variables are the political influence on the policy makers and the motivation of the teachers and pupils in schools and a overall rather influencing variable in the community and their view on the issue of Papiamento in schools.

To continue answering the last question from Cooper's scheme follows the desired effect of a new language policy. The effect of the policy should be the development of a new language situation in the educational system where the different groups can function properly with the goal in mind to improve the educational system of Aruba and more specifically to improve the language proficiency of pupils in both primary and secondary education in all languages needed to fully participate in the educational system and later on life in the labor market.

As mentioned before within a socio-cultural framework, language is in the first place seen as a social-cultural-historic phenomenon in order to better understand the framework some light will have to be shed on theories related to the sociolinguistic aspect of language that are relevant for the Aruban situation.

Anthropologists have used language as a source of information in the general study of 'culture'. "We use the term **culture** to refer to all the ideas and assumptions about the nature of things and people that we learn when we become members of social groups. It can be defined as 'socially acquired knowledge'. This is the kind of knowledge that, like our first language, we initially acquire without conscious awareness. We develop awareness of our knowledge, and hence of our culture, only after having developed language" (Yule, p216).

The interaction between language and culture is relevant in the development of language policy. As stated by Yule language takes a crucial part in all cultures. For younger cultures like the Aruban culture is, there is no long history of experience to be used in the development of new policies and comparison with already well established countries with equally well developed language policies is not possible. However, it is possible to learn and use the experiences of different types of language policies all over the world and to adapt the knowledge to the local situation. The theories provided by Schiffman and Wiley are quite helpful in trying to understand the social-cultural framework mentioned before.

"I see language *policy* (roughly, "decision-making about language") as inextricably connected to *linguistic culture*, which I define as the sum totality of ideas, values, beliefs, attitudes, prejudices, myths, religious strictures, and all the other cultural "baggage" that speakers bring to their dealings with language from their culture....it is important to view language policy as not only the explicit, written, overt, *de jure*, official,

and "top-down" decision- making about language, but also the implicit, unwritten, covert, de facto, grass roots, and unofficial ideas and assumptions, which can influence the outcomes of policy making just as emphatically and definitively as the more explicit decisions" (Schiffman, 2006). The connection made by Schiffman between language policy and linguistic culture is helpful in the planning of new language policies. Linguistic culture as defined by Schiffman consists of many factors that may influence the outcomes of policy. Here lies the strength of this definition. In order to make a precise as possible planning for language policy, one must account for as many factors as possible that may influence the outcomes of the language policy. Especially in a complex linguistic situation 'culture' must be taken into account when developing language policies.

What follows is the method to be used in planning of language policies. "…language policy and planning (LPP), as an interdisciplinary field requires an understanding and use of multiple methods in exploring important questions about language status, language identity, language use, and other topics that fall within the purview of research" (Ricento, p129).

"History occupies an important position in most work in LPP, whether at the micro-level of interpersonal communication or the macro-level of state formation" (Ricento, p129). As history occupies an important position in LPP, the following chapter will describe the background of language policy of Aruba. Wiley (2006) gives an interesting perspective on what a traditional historical approach is and the criticism on this traditional approach and its implication for the study of language policy and planning.

"With the rise of postcolonial states many of their prescribed models for language planning and policy formation follow in the footsteps of successful Western nations and resemble universalistic models that assume a linear path to economic and national *development* (Rostow,1960)". This statement can also be applied to the Aruban situation, Aruba being the postcolonial state and the Netherlands the Western nation, which functions as the most important example for language planning in education. "Today, in popular and scholarly discourse about language politics and policy, demagogues, politicians, and even language-policy specialists occasionally appeal to the

authority of history to bolster their claims about how the past informs us about contemporary issues. Such appeals to history are based on the assumption that there is a correct, empirically based "true" story of what happened in the past (Ricento, p136)". In creating a new language policy for Aruba one may use information from the past that may not be as 'true' as one would like. Therefore it is important to remain critical in acquiring information.

There are scholars like Munslow (2000) and White (1975) who criticize 'true' stories as told in historical narratives (Ricento, p 137). "In addition to inductive and deductive approaches, however, Munslow notes that there is a third aspect of historical inquiry that is *abductive*, which is "the characteristic feature of historical explanation and the historical imagination" (2000, p.122). As Munslow notes, "Historians do tend to use 'the facts' to create their own meanings. If they did not then history would be much less revisionist (re-vision) than it is" (Ricento, p.137).

"For White, chronicles and stories produced through the "selection and arrangement of data from the *unprocessed historical record* in the interest of rendering that record more comprehensible to an *audience* of a particular kind (Ricento, p138)".

When reading information relevant for language policy planning for Aruba, one must be aware of the fact that the texts were written for a certain *audience* as language policy is a rather political issue the *audience* was very much kept in mind when writing these texts.

In his conclusion Wiley states; "First we must disentangle and decolonize the web spun by the agendas of contemporary historians and eye-witness chroniclers of the past. Then we can learn from the historical investigation that demonstrates the value of careful, cautious work; among the most promising is that being devoted to *local knowledge* and *border thinking* (Ricento, p147)". The following chapter that describes the background (also history) of language policy of Aruba, attempts to reflects the statement by Wiley as mentioned before.

Chapter 3 Background language policy Aruba

As mentioned in the previous chapter the somewhat complex language situation of Aruba, needs some background information in order to better understand the factors making the situation so complex. This chapter attempts to provide the necessary information. First an overview is given of the history of language policy on Aruba and the chapter ends with a description of the current language situation.

§3.1History of Language Policy on Aruba

It is said that history repeats itself, and in order to better understand the current language situation on Aruba and existing policies and motivation for the development of future policies, an overview of the history of language policy is useful. As is said in different publications to be mentioned below, the language situation on the Dutch Antilles and Aruba is extremely complicated. To better understand the developments in language policy and language planning, a background of the political situation of Aruba is crucial. Until January 1986, Aruba was part of the Dutch Antilles, which on its own was and still is part of the kingdom of the Netherlands. With the gain of an autonomous position within the Kingdom of the Netherlands, Aruba also gained control over its own language policy. Officially only foreign affairs and defense are still run by the Dutch government (Rutgers, 1997: 275). However, Aruba still remains really dependent on the Netherlands and uses policies developed in the Netherlands to create educational policies adjusted to the local situation, where possible. "The position of a language is not only determined by what the government wants, does or fails to do, but most commonly is the result of the interaction between the different social forces" (van Putte, 1994). According to van Putte (1994) we can distinguish three periods in the history of language policy on the Dutch Antilles. The first period is the one of opportunistic indifference towards what was linguistically happening in the colonies. This period is followed by a period of resistance

and sudden measures for the unfortunate situation of Dutch, in the first part of the 19th century and with a slow transition towards the third period. This third period is characterized by acceptance, starting from the Second World War.

After the Second World War it became obvious that the language policies up until then had failed. The commission de La Try Ellis, who in 1945 was in charge of planning the conference, extensively paid attention to the language problems in the Caribbean part of the Kingdom (Van Putte, 267). It had become clear that Dutch could no longer take the most important position. There was a group who advocated for the introduction of Papiamento in different stages, the opponents argued that this would influence the transition to secondary education (where everything is in Dutch). Though, the opponents agreed that Papiamento had to be one of the subjects in the higher years of secondary education. "The commission itself had no clear point of view on the issue" (van Putte, p267). One of the attributing factors to the standardization of the language Papiamento was the fact that there are differences in vocabulary and spelling on Aruba compared to Curacao and Bonaire. Because up until 1986, Aruba was part of the Dutch Antilles, all policies for Aruba were determined on Curacao. This created the problem that decisions and policies suitable for Curacao were not applicable to Aruba (this was of course one of the most important reasons why independence from the Dutch Antilles was longed for).

When in 1954 the colonial period officially ended on the Dutch Antilles and the Islands became autonomous (also on the language policy), there was almost no difference in the language situation compared to the 1896 situation, when Hamelberg⁴ proposed bilingual preparatory education. In the baggage that the Dutch Antilles was left over with from the colonial period, there was no official orthography, no decision on the role of the native language, almost no adjusted teaching material for and in Dutch, and no Papiamento-Dutch dictionary or a somewhat elaborated oral tradition of Papiamento. "The Colonial language policy in the end had created a problem rather than having solved the problem" (van Putte, 1994: 267).

_

⁴ Hamelberg was a Dutch keeper of records on Curacao in 1896, who commented upon the language situation on the island. As Dutch was not the most common language, he agreed with others who proposed, the catholic schools initiatives of starting with both Papiamento and Dutch in primary education. (van Putte, 1994: 260).

As van Putte (1994) states the decolonization process has been going on for several decades, as has the language policy development. He claims that especially in the language politics and the education policy that comes along, the former colonies should carefully consider the Netherlands as an example. He also claims that "the rather small language area excludes the possibility of providing education in the native language" (van Putte, 1994: 268). Van Putte continues to claim the Dutch Antilles should use the words of the Puerto Rican legal expert Nilita Vientós Gastón (1972:8) on the position of Spanish and English in Puerto Rico: 'the debate on language will only end when a decision has been taken on out political future' (van Putte, 1994: 268). This quotation quite rightly reflects the issue on the Dutch Antilles and Aruba. Aruba was supposed to become independent in 1996, but this decision has been reversed and the political future remains uncertain. This directly influences the language policy, because the role of Dutch in primary and secondary education is linked to the political relationship with the Netherlands. Since the dismissal of article 62 of the charter, which determined the independence of Aruba from the Netherlands in 1996, there is and still will continue to be a strong political link to the Netherlands (Pronk, 2003). Dutch was up until 2003 the only official language on Aruba, in 2003 a law was passed that determined that next to Dutch, Papiamento will be the official languages.

On the island of Curacao, Papiamento has been a subject in primary education, since 1986. On the islands of Saba, St. Eustatius and St. Martin, languages of instruction are Dutch and English. "The introduction of majority languages as languages of instruction are yet to be implemented" (Rutgers: 276). The Status Aparte (Secession from the Neth. Antilles) in 1986 did not bring any changes in the language policy. Even though Aruba was free to decide upon it language policy, the tradition continued without any real discussion. In 1988 a plan was presented that advocated bilingual primary education in Papiamento and Dutch. The plan has not been executed yet. According to data from the department of Education, a pilot school was supposed to start in August 2007, but due to organizational problems, this plan has been put on hold until August 2008. This initiative

was started by the Instituto Pedagogico Arubano⁵ in cooperation with the department of curriculum development and the professional association for teachers, Simar.

Another initiative "Habri'porta pa mi drenta" (Boekhoudt-Croes et al., 2001) was by the project group 'Nos idoma', which is a project group within the department of Education of Aruba. The plan proposes a somewhat similar system for primary education as was proposed in 1988 report. Here the most important change to the current school system is that in the first years of primary education Papiamento is the only language of instruction, in this new system, Dutch is considered to be a *foreign* language, note the emphasis on the label of *foreign* instead of *second* language. Furthermore, the last two years of primary education will be in Dutch, this in order to make a logical transition to secondary school, where Dutch is still the sole language of instruction.

§3.2 Current language situation

According to a survey by the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS⁶) conducted in 2001, the most common spoken languages on Aruba are;

		1991/1992	2001
1.	Papiamento	77%	66%
2.	English	9%	8%
3.	Spanish	7%	13%
4.	Dutch	5%	6%
5.	Other	3%	4%

The subjects were asked to indicate what language they speak at home. When comparing the results for the survey in 1991/1992 to the percentages in 2001, one can see that there has been little change in the numbers. Dutch still remains the fourth language on the list.

⁵ Institutu Pedagogico Arubano is an institution for higher education, where different courses are offered, from primary school teaching, secondary school teaching and post graduate courses for teachers. The institute also conducts research in the area of language teaching in primary and secondary education.

⁶ The Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) is the institution officially assigned with the collection, processing and publication of socially relevant statistics in different areas. It is a government department that resorts under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Economic Affairs.

Before the Status Aparte in 1986, CBS Aruba was a branch of the central office of the Netherlands Antilles located in Curaçao and was only engaged in the collection of data. Nowadays, the CBS is able to provide data on, for example, price indices, international trade, the economy, population, labor force and education.

For its statistical information, the CBS makes use of two data sources: readily available administrative information from external data files, in addition to data collected from surveys conducted among residents and organizations. It is important to note that the data collected by the CBS, by whatever means, are extremely confidential.

The position of English as the second language has changed due to socio-economic changes. The influence of the oil refinery was considerable in the first half of the 20th century. The refinery imported workers from other English speaking Caribbean islands. The community working and living in the town of San Nicolas all spoke English, to this day English is the first language for most people living in this part of the island.

When in the refinery was shut down in 1985, the role of English changed, there were no longer English speaking people coming to the island and people lost their jobs and therefore also the necessity to communicate in English in a professional setting. The Coastal refinery started in 1991 (nowadays Valero refinery), there were less people employed, so the number of people *having* to speak English in a professional setting was rather small.

Tourism is the economic pillar of the island; here English is the most common language. All employees speak English; the level of proficiency is not high for the largest group of employees. There are also immigrants who come from Spanish speaking countries and never learn English. As can be seen from the numbers in the table above English and Spanish are close together and both could be considered to be second languages. Because of the importance of tourism, one could say that English is more institutionalized, like Dutch is in the government.

Boekhoudt-Croes (1995) investigated the language use and language needs of the Aruban working population. Of course when developing educational policies, one aims to adjust the policies to the future needs of the working population. In the dissertation from 1995 there is an overview given of the language use and needs and how the educational system can develop a language policy that provides in the future needs of the working population.

"If we compare the position of each language with its use and needs in society, especially by the working population we notice a discrepancy between the supply and the demand for each language" (Boekhoudt-Croes, p 61). To start with English; Boekhoudt states that "It would be wise to invest in an as broad as possible proficiency in English" (p 61). The respondents in her research all lacked the necessary level of proficiency in almost all situation, these situations are related to a working environment which was the area of focus in Boekhoudt's research.

Concerning Dutch, Boekhoudt states that Dutch is the first language learned in education but is not needed by all pupils it is only needed for the ones who intend to migrate to the Netherlands to continue their education. Another problem mentioned by Boekhoudt is that the teachers in primary school themselves lack an appropriate level of Dutch and this is why a regular switch to Papiamento takes place. This together with the lack of Dutch input⁷ result in an improper level of proficiency when leaving primary school.

On Papiamento Boekhoudt states that "Papiamento is the language most commonly used at different levels of communication by different language groups and in different sectors (p 62)". This is the argument for Boekhoudt to plead for the use of Papiamento in primary as it is the language orally mastered before entering primary school.

On the language of instruction Boekhoudt states that "The language mostly needed in Aruban society was Papiamento. Yet Dutch offers possibilities of further studies in Holland and will keep being an important language to know because Aruba for the time being will remain part of the Dutch Kingdom. At the other hand English is a very developed international language, giving more possibilities than Dutch and apparently being learned easier by the Aruban society....than Dutch (p.63)". This statement dates from 1995 but is still quite relevant if we consider the information previously mentioned in this chapter. Boekhoudt in 1995 stated that in the Netherlands higher vocational education and university education were considering to English be the language used. Nowadays, one could say that English is being used in several schools and university and therefore weakens the argument to keep Dutch in place in secondary schools in order for the pupils to be better prepared when continuing their education in the Netherlands. Boekhoudt also mentions the option for trilingual education (Papiamento, Dutch and English). She gives an example of how schools in Luxembourg deal with Luxembourger, German and French in primary school and compares this to the Aruban situation and says that this is a plausible option considering the language needs of the island. Where different groups will need different languages to become successful in their academic performances. Students in basic vocational education primarily need

⁷ My personal addition. When children grow up the input of media(radio, television and newspapers) is in the languages; Papiamento, English and Spanish. However, BVN TV has been broadcasting in Aruba for a few years. The question remains how often children in primary school watch these broadcasts.

Papiamento, because they will end up working in a sector of the labor market where Papiamento is dominant.

In the tourism labor sector, English language prevails so students studying to work in this sector will benefit more from English.

She concludes her paper by proposing a multilingual education system, where the students are educated in 4 languages most common on the island, in order for them to fulfill the needs of the working environment.

This point of view for a multilingual education system is further elaborated upon in a paper written by the National Educational Reform project concerning Primary Education (PRIEPEB) titled 'Habri porta pa nos drenta' (Grupo Modelo di Idioma, 2001). Here a model is proposed for a multilingual education system with predominantly Papiamento as language of instruction. This model can be characterized as multilingual, because it deals with the four most important languages on the island (Papiamento, English, Dutch and Spanish, according to importance established by Boekhoudt-Croes, 1995). The model is based on the idea that for a full development on all areas, a child must have sufficient level of proficiency in the language of instruction (PRIEPEB, Grupo modelo di Idioma, p22). According to this model Papiamento will remain the most important language used in all the years of primary education. Even though Papiamento will be the most important language of instruction, use of other languages will take place during class. For example when working on a project pupils will be allowed to use information from the internet, that is in another language than Papiamento. This enables the students to practice working with several languages at the same time and increase their proficiency in those languages. Pupils with Papiamento as their second language will receive a differentiated didactic approach in order to fulfill their needs. (Boekhoudt et.al., 2001)

Emerencia (1998) gives an overview of the different arguments used in favor or against the use of Papiamento in schools (page 15).

Arguments against Papiamento

- Papiamento is not a complete language or not suitable enough to be used as a medium of instruction.
- Papiamento is not a language of Wider Communication (LWC).

Papiamento instruction will debilitate children's possibilities to learn Dutch.
 Dutch is the most important language in education, because in secondary education Dutch (and should stay) the medium of instruction and for higher education Aruba is mostly dependent on the Netherlands.

Arguments used in favor of Papiamento

- The vernacular is the most important instrument for cognitive, social, emotional and moral development.
- A solid development of the first language serves second and foreign language acquisition.
- Papiamento is the national language of Aruba. Use of Papiamento in schools can and should serve the strengthening and expansion of this language.
- Use of Papiamento in schools can and should serve the development of Aruban culture and serve the development of national identity.

Herrera (2003) from the University of Arizona (USA) wrote a dissertation on Language Planning and Education in Aruba, she focused on the contexts and contradictions.

One of her first findings relate to the predominant languages of Aruba; "The four predominant languages in Aruba are Papiamento, Dutch, Spanish and English⁸. Papiamento is the indigenous language of the island used at home and as the lingua franca for island business. Dutch is the language of all official government documents and is the medium of instruction in the schools. Spanish language is utilized in homes of Aruban immigrants from Spanish speaking homelands and is commonly spoken among tourists and businesses catering to tourism. English is the vernacular language used at home for many Aruban families living in the San Nicolas geographic area of Aruba and is the language that dominates the tourism business" (Herrera, p.10).

Her second finding relate to the official plan the Aruba government has put into place for educational change. "..... these plans address language issues among others and are being implemented as legal strides are made. (p.11).

-

⁸ Note the difference with the numbers according to CBS in 2001 on page 15!

Her third and last finding relate to generalizable implications for language planning and education. "Aruba is in a position of unlimited possibilities to plan, design, and implement a new revised educational system that will change the culture of schooling...(p.11)." This finding reflects the complexity of the language issue, it is because of the position of 'unlimited possibilities' that it is hard to choose the correct possibility that will best resolve the issue.

As mentioned in the introduction, the research question of this study can be divided in two parts; the first question is what is the opinion of teachers on the introduction of Papiamento in secondary school and how they as teachers see the role of Papiamento in the future, the second part of the research question is how can a language policy for secondary education be formulated (that uses the teacher's opinion, as they are the ones who have to implement the policy and plans), that builds upon the already existing language policy and plans for primary education.

Chapter 4 Method

This chapter provides a description of the method used in conducting this study. Firstly, the participants of the study will be described. Secondly, the materials used in this study are described. The chapter continues by providing a description of the procedures of this study and the design and analysis of this study closes off this chapter.

§4.1 Participants

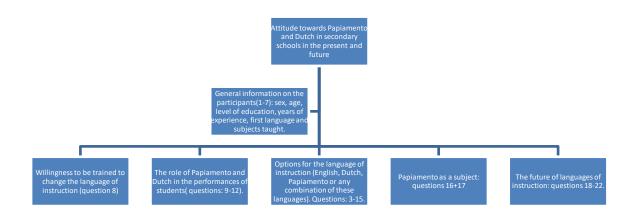
This study aimed at teachers in secondary schools, the teachers who received the questionnaire were teachers from 4 different schools; Colegio Arubano (Havo and VWO, Mon Plaisir college (Mavo), Colegio San Antonio (Mavo) and EPB San Nicolas (school for basic professional education). The participants in this study represent teachers from all different levels in secondary education. The ages of the subjects varied as did their personal and professional background. The highest level of education was HBO (Bachelor's degree). This means that the teachers who filled out the questionnaire are mostly teachers in the first three years of secondary education. In order to teach in the last years of secondary education a Master's degree is needed. The participants had different language backgrounds, not all of them have Papiamento as their first language.

The participants had received permission from the school's management to participate in this study. In total there were 32 teachers who participated, 17 language teachers and 15 teachers, who teach other subjects.

§4.2 Materials

The materials used in this study were the questionnaire⁹ and personal interviews¹⁰. In order to get an overview of the current language policy situation it was necessary to conduct several personal interviews. In appendix 2 the general questions I had are mentioned, but every person I interviewed had its own field of area of expertise, so along way the questions were modified to fit the professional context the participant is working in.

The questionnaire consisted of 21 questions and the first 8 questions are more general questions to get an impression of the background of the participant. From question 9 on a Likert scale was used. As part of the question the participant was asked to give arguments pro and against the statement given. The reason for choosing this method was that participants tend to read a statement and just tick one of the boxes, but when asked to give arguments for their opinion it stimulates to consider the statement even more carefully. Furthermore it helps in the analysis of the results, because the reasoning behind the opinion is provided in the arguments. At the end of the questionnaire participants are given the opportunity to comment on the questionnaire. How the questionnaire was made operational:



¹⁰ See Appendix 1 for questions asked during the personal interviews.

⁹ See Appendix 1 for questionnaire.

The questionnaire starts with general questions(1-7) like sex, age, level of education, years of education experience, first language and subjects teaching. This information is necessary for describing the participants later on in the results chapter.

Question 8 relates to the willingness of the teacher to receive training in order to give instruction in another language that is not Dutch. The questions 9-12 are on the role of Papiamento and Dutch in the performances of pupils in the present situation and tries to find out whether proficiency in these languages influence the pupil's performance. Questions 16 and 17 are on the situation since 2004 where Papiamento is a compulsory subject in secondary schools. Questions 18-22 are related to the future of language/languages of instruction in secondary schools in order to improve the performance of pupils.

The questionnaire was set up to cover several areas of the topic, in order to provide information on the role of Papiamento in secondary education and the role teachers should play in this, at present and in the future. And if they are willing to participate (question 8), by for example receiving some extra training in order to give instruction in Papiamento or another language.

When considering Papiamento as language of instruction several models are possible, these different options were also explored in the questionnaire in order to get the opinion of teachers on the different models. They are as follows; a combination between English and Dutch as method of instruction, a combination of Papiamento and Dutch or a multilingual method of instruction in Dutch, Papiamento and English, following the footsteps of the policy set out for primary education as described in the previous chapter.

§4.3 Procedures

Summary of steps taken in the field work of this study;

- Observe a few hours of Papiamento lessons at a MAVO school.
- Interview teachers who teach Papiamento and teachers who teach other languages in secondary schools where it is not a subject "yet".
- Interview one of the policy makers Mr. Dane at the Department of Education.

- Interview with one person from the National Educational Reform project concerning Primary Education (PRIEPEB), this is the project group who developed Papiamento in primary schools and is in charge with the execution of it.
- Meeting with some members "Grupo Nos Idioma", a project group working on the development and implementation of Papiamento in both primary and secondary education.
- Interview one person from the project group SHA (Stiching Herstructurering Algemeen voortgezet onderwijs).
- Analyze the reports written by SHA and PRIEPEB.

When creating the questionnaire a point of consideration was in what language/languages it should be provided to the participants. At first the questionnaire was supposed to be provided in both Dutch and Papiamento. The idea was to have double sided sheets of paper with on each side one language, so the participant is free to choose in which language he/she would like to answer the questions. After a first visit to one of the education policy makers at the Department of Education, it was made clear to be that it should be in Dutch, because it was customary to do so. I was advised not to make the questionnaire bilingual, because it might create the impression that I am prejudiced on the issue. Looking back at this I would say I should not have taken the advice into account and provide it in both Dutch and Papiamento, because the Dutch questionnaire can also be considered prejudiced.

I proceeded to make a version of the questionnaire in Papiamento and did a pilot, two teachers were asked in what language they preferred to fill out the questionnaire. It must be noted that both were native speakers of Papiamento, but both said they preferred to do it in Dutch to prevent making spelling errors. The subject is rather sensitive and therefore it wise to let the participants remain anonymous. I then proceeded to make the introduction part bilingual and leave all the questions in Dutch.

There were 4 schools that were approached to participate in the study. The first is Mon Plaisir, a Mavo school, with approximately 15 teachers, the second school is Colegio Arubano, a Havo/Vwo school with about 40 teachers, the third school is EPB San Nicolas (is a school for basic professional education) with approximately 25 teachers, and the fourth school is Colegio San Antonio, a Mavo school with approximately 18 teachers. Each school was provided with about 25 questionnaires, depending on the size of the school. School management was asked permission and they provided the questionnaires to the teachers. The teachers were asked to return the questionnaire the school management. This is not the most ideal procedure; because of the rules present there was no other option. As mentioned before this is a debated issue among teachers and policy makers, this might be the reason it was difficult to get participants for this study even though the participants remained anonymous.

§4.4 Design and analyses

After several weeks of waiting for school management to return the questionnaires, the analysis of the result could start. The results of this study are separated between the results from the interviews and the questionnaires. The questions from the questionnaire are partly multiple choices, and therefore are analyzed in SPSS, the second part of the questions where arguments are provided by the participants and a manual count was used to provide an overview of the different arguments given by the participants.

The following chapter will provide an overview of the most relevant findings of the study, in the appendices 5 and 6 all the results of the study can be found.

Chapter 5 Results

This chapter provides an overview of the most relevant results of the study on language policy on Aruba and the role of Papiamento in it. The chapter will start with the results gained from the interviews held with several administrators and policymakers at the Department of Education of Aruba. This chapter continues with an overview of the results gained from the questionnaires provided to teachers in the four secondary schools that participated in this study.

5.1 Results Interviews¹¹

 Interview with teachers who teach Papiamento and teachers who teach other languages in secondary schools.

The training is a post-graduate course offered at IPA. They are very positive towards the introduction of Papiamento in secondary schools and believe that pupils profit from this subject, because a solid basis in Papiamento helps in learning other languages and subjects taught in Dutch. However, they do say that there is a discrepancy between the proficiency level of the pupils in first grade of secondary school compared to the 'assumed level' of the method 'Crystal'. This makes it harder

¹¹ For privacy reasons not all names of the participants are mentioned, this subject is rather politically charged within the department of Education.

for the pupils to reach the desired level of proficiency at the end of the three compulsory years of the subject Papiamento.

Interview one of the policy makers Mr. Dane at the Department of Education. Mr. Dane is the most important policy advisor to the Minister of Education: Mrs.Marisol Lopes-Tromp. He is the former head of the department of Education and has a great number of years of experience in the area of education policy. He aims at creating suitable language policy for secondary schools that builds upon the already existing language policies for primary education. He describes the situation regarding language policy development as follows: "Basically one can say there are two camps battling against each other in language policy development. One camp aims at giving Papiamento a very important role in secondary education and making it the language of instruction, based on the assumption that one is best taught in one's native language. The other group aims at holding on to Dutch as the sole language of instruction in secondary school, based on the believe that all the methods used for all subjects come from the Netherlands and are in Dutch, secondly they argue that when continuing one's education (Higher vocational education and Universities) Dutch will be the language used". Mr. Dane continues to state that he does not believe that in the near future the two opposing groups will reach an agreement. He thinks that is necessary for research reports to be written that focus on a policy planning that aims

• Interview with one person from the National Educational Reform project concerning Primary Education (PRIEPEB), this is the project group who developed a policy for Papiamento in primary schools and is in charge with the execution of it. Within this project group there is one subgroup that is named 'Grupo modelo di idioma". This subgroup was in charge with the preposition report for a multilingual model of primary education. One of the members of this project group is the before mentioned Boekhoudt-Croes. The report 'Habri porta pa nos drenta' is in line with her previous work (1995), where she proposed a multilingual model of education to fulfill the needs of the Aruban working environment. From the interview with her and another member of this project

at fulfilling the needs of the pupils when in secondary school and when leaving

secondary school to continue their education or enter the labor market.

group, the underlying thoughts of the report were further elaborated upon. The plans for the upcoming pilot to test this multilingual model of education were explained and also the political reasons for the delay of the pilot were mentioned.

 Meeting with some members "Grupo Nos Idioma", a project group working on the development and implementation of Papiamento in both primary and secondary education.

This project group consists of seven people who have different tasks. There are two people working of the 'translation' of the method 'Crystal''¹² and at the same time on the official Aruban dictionary of the language Papiamento. The current dictionaries are based on the Papiamentu of Curacao. The leader of the project group, is a former teacher in special education where the first steps towards the inclusion of Papiamento in primary education were made. According to the this person the benefits of Papiamento as language of instruction have been proven in this part of education.

• Interview with one person from the project group SHA (Stiching Herstructurering Algemeen voortgezet onderwijs). This project group has been primary concerned with the introduction of 'cyclo basico' ¹³ in secondary education. Papiamento as compulsory subject in the first three years of secondary education, was introduced together with the 'cyclo basico'. According to the person interviewed the strength of this project group is that it consist of people who were teachers in the past and others who are still working as teachers in secondary schools, who therefore can make the link between theory and practice, when developing new educational reforms. As for the issue of Papiamento there are also of a number of people within the project group who do not agree with each other on what role Papiamento should be playing in the future. This disagreement is reflected in the

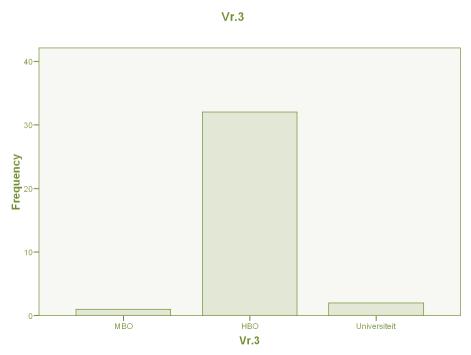
¹² This is the method used to teach Papiamento as a subject in secondary education. They are currently translating part three of the book. The term 'translation' does need some explanation. As mentioned before "Crystal" comes from Curacao, as there are orthographic differences between the 'Papiamentu' of Curacao and the 'Papiamento' of Aruba next to some cultural differences, there is a need to make some changes in the method. These changes consist of inserting other pictures to better reflect the Aruban culture, furthermore the spelling is adjusted to the up until now agreed upon spelling of Aruban Papiamento. The official orthography of Papiamento is expected to be finished in about two years from now.

¹³ 'Cyclo basico' is based on the Dutch model of 'basisvorming' and is briefly said; a basic cycle of 2 years, after which is decided where the pupil fits best (mavo, havo or vwo). EPB (lower vocational education) does not have this 'cyclo basico'.

material produced by the project group. Which in turn makes it difficult for the developed proposals for educational reforms to be implemented.

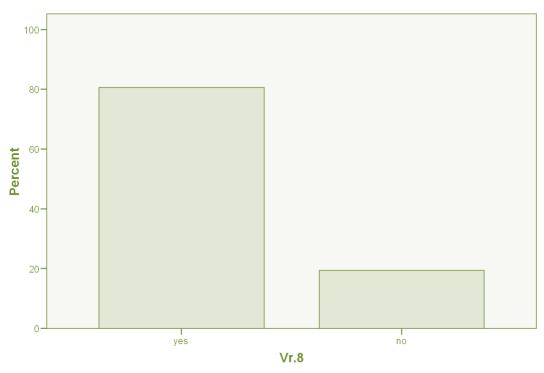
5.2 Results Questionnaire

The first seven questions of the questionnaire were aimed at gathering background information on the participants and included questions on sex, age, first language, level of education and number of years working as a teacher. Below follows an illustrated overview of the results to some of these questions.



The graph above shows that the majority (32 out of 35) of the participants have Higher vocational education as the highest level of education.

From the tables in appendix 5 (p.66), one can see that the average age of the participants was 41 years. The mean was 41,5 and the standard deviation 9,3.



This graph shows that the majority of the participants (80%) is willing to receive extra training in order be able to give instructions during class in a language that is not Dutch. A small group of 20% of the participants is not willing to receive the extra training needed to change the language of instruction.

Question 8 was whether the participants was willing to receive training in order to give instructions in another language that is not Dutch. When comparing age to the willingness to receive training we find the following results.

Correlations

		Age	Vr.8
Age	Pearson Correlation	1	,091
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,658
	N	28	26
Vr.8	Pearson Correlation	,091	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,658	
	N	26	31

The null hypothesis (H0) states that; there is no relationship between the age of the participants and their willingness to receive training in order to be able to give instructions in another language that is not Dutch.

The level of significance is .658 this is higher than the allowable p=0.05 level used in this field of research. This means that the null hypothesis cannot be rejected. The chance of incorrectly rejecting the is higher than 5%.

From the table above can be seen that there is a rather weak correlation of 0.091. So one can say that the age of the teachers in secondary schools does not affect their willingness to receive extra training. In some cases it is believed that the higher the age of people the less their willingness to receive extra training.

In the questionnaire the questions 9- 17 were questions where the participant had to decide upon a statement, and had the opportunity to give argument for and against the statement. The tables in appendix 6, show a complete overview of the arguments given by the participants. Most arguments are in Dutch, only a few were given in Papiamento. The tables provide all the arguments given by the participants. The other participants only said whether they agreed to the statement or not and lacked to provide arguments for their opinion.

Here follows an overview for the most common arguments provided by the participants per question.

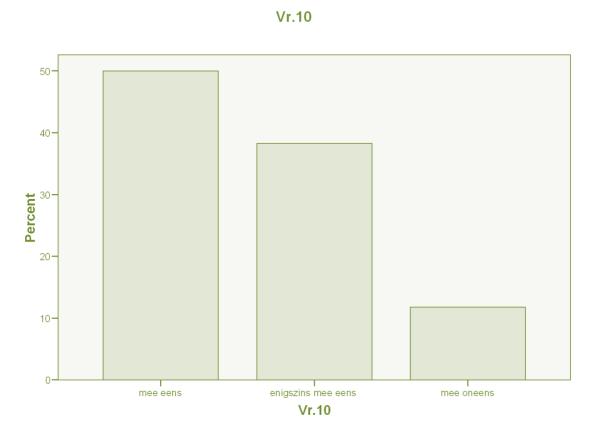
Question 9: het schoolsucces van leerlingen is het gevolg van de mate waarin ze hun moedertaal beheersen./The academic achievements of pupils is the result of the level of proficiency of the native language.

The arguments in favor all argue that one's native language is the best language to start with and continue using and that research has proven that it is a must to be proficient in one's first language in order to learn other languages.

The arguments against argue that because the materials used are in Dutch and in the end the pupil will be tested in Dutch, that using Papiamento is not a plausible option. Another mentioned argument is that there is only a small group of people throughout the world that speak Papiamento and therefore it is not a useful language to be proficient/good at.

Also the argument of continuation of education abroad usually the Netherlands makes Papiamento unnecessary according to some participants.

Question 10: Het schoolsucces van leerlingen is het gevolg van de mate waarin ze de Nederlandse taal beheersen./ The academic achievements of pupils depend on their level of proficiency in Dutch.



Mean= 1.6/ SD= 0.69.

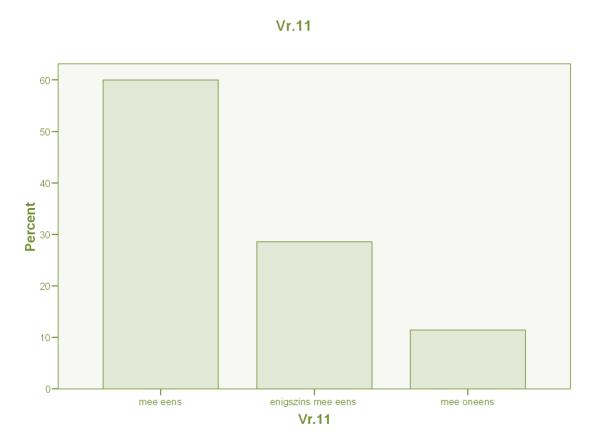
As can be seen from the above table a majority of 50% completely agree and 38% (agree to a certain extend) to the statement that the academic achievements of pupils depend on their level of proficiency in Dutch.

The arguments in favor of this statement say that the proficiency of Dutch is important because that is the key in understanding the material offered during class. Other say that one should also consider other influences when judging the academic achievements of pupils. Some participants say that the problem lies in the low level op proficiency and

this can be helped by making Dutch a more integral part in daily life, this in order for the pupils to be confronted with the language in different situations, and as result improve their level of proficiency.

The arguments against say that one should focus on other influencing factors such as motivation and individual linguistic skills of the pupils for example. Also that is important to realize that an appropriate proficiency level in Dutch in necessary to participate in Higher education in the Netherlands.

Question 11: Het beheersen van meerdere talen heeft een positief effect op het schoolsucces van leerlingen./ Having proficiency in several languages has a positive effect on the achievement of pupils.



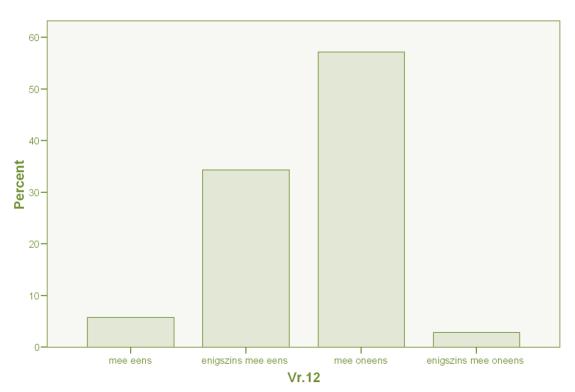
As can be seen from the above table a majority of 60% of the participants agree that being proficient in several languages has a positive effect on the achievements of pupils. 12% of the participants does not agree with this.

The arguments in favor of this statement say that the knowledge of several languages has an overall positive effect on the learning abilities of the pupils and the ability to participate in a global community.

The arguments against this statement say that being proficient in several languages only has a positive effect if the level of proficiency surpasses the conversational level of proficiency. The chance of a negative influence increases when the level of proficiency stops to increase and fails to reach the desired level that is necessary in secondary education.

Question 12: Papiamento moet worden ingevoerd als instructietaal in het voortgezet onderwijs./ Papiamento should be introduced as the language of instruction in secondary schools.





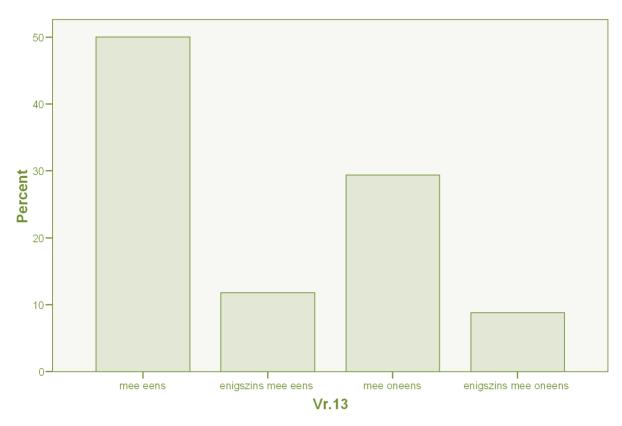
In this table we can see that 55% of the participants disagree with this statement and 5% agree and 35% slightly agree with the statement to introduce Papiamento as language of

instruction. Arguments in favor state that Papiamento should be used next to Dutch as languages of instruction. Papiamento can be well used as a tool to explain notions that require the pupil to appeal to their personal experiences. According to participants almost 80% of the pupils have Papiamento as their first or second language so it is a really plausible option.

Arguments against this statement mentioned are that the use of Papiamento later on in higher education is not necessary so there is no use to introduce it as language of instruction. Another argument mentioned is that most people on Aruba do not have a sufficient level of proficiency in order to use Papiamento as language of instruction.

Question 13: Nederlands moet als enige instructietaal blijven in het onderwijs./ Dutch should remain the only language of instruction in secondary education.

Vr.13

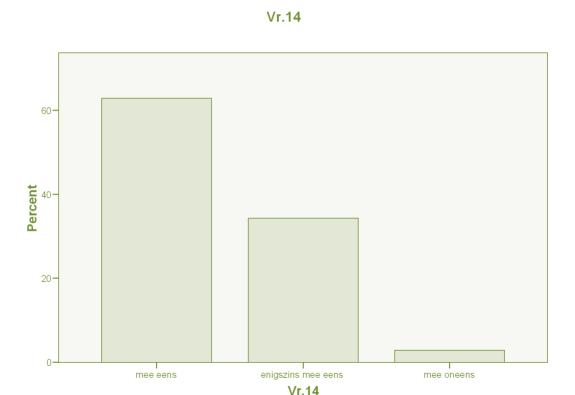


Mean= 1,98/ SD=1,09

As can be seen from this table almost 50% of the participants agree with this statement. The arguments provided are that as long as the instructions in the books are still in Dutch the teacher should continue using Dutch as language of instruction. The next common argument is that most pupils continue their education in the Netherlands.

Arguments provided against this statement focus on the fact that next to Dutch there are other conceivable option such as English and Spanish to use as language of instruction

Question 14: Papiamento moet ingezet worden als hulpmiddel bij het geven van instructie./ Papiamento should be used as a tool when giving instructions.



Mean= 1,40/ SD= 0,55.

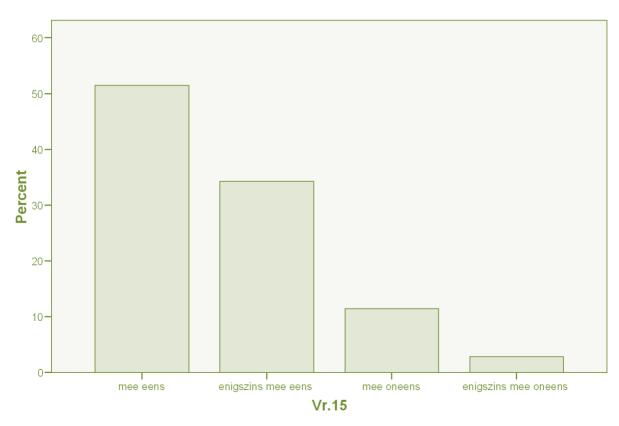
As can be seen from the table above the majority 63% of the participants agree with this statement. The arguments provided in favor of this statement say that it has many advantages such as a possibility for the pupil to actually make a link to the material

provided in Dutch and to better understand the overall message. Therefore when having to answer question even though in Dutch the pupil will have more readably available information to use.

Arguments against this statement say that, one will have to be careful in how to use the native language of the pupils as a tool when instructing. The chance of confusing is very much present. Another argument provided is that the use of Papiamento will have a negative influence of the level of proficiency in Dutch.

Question 15: Engels als instructie taal voor een aantal vakken is een optie./ English as language of instruction can be used in certain subjects.





Mean= 1,66/ SD= 0,80.

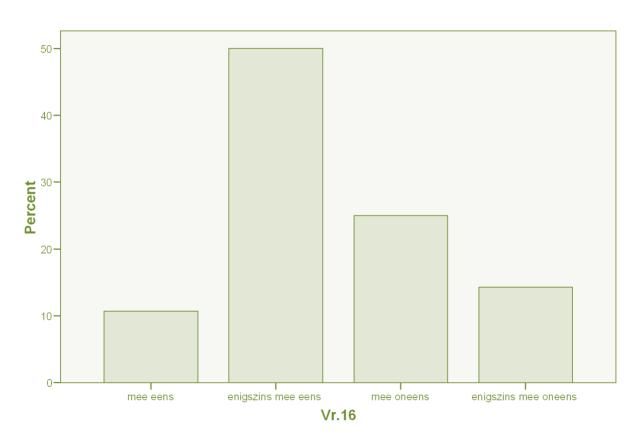
The table above shows that 53% of the participants agree with the statement that English should be used for certain subjects. The arguments provided by the participants state that

English is a language that is much more familiar and appealing to the pupils. The fact that English opens possibilities everywhere for the pupils wherever they go to continue their education. English is the language of the economy of not only Aruba but the entire region.

The 12% of participants that do not agree with the use of English as language of instruction for certain subjects in secondary education, provide as arguments that the books should also be in English and that it is only helpful for a small group of students who can afford to attend higher education in the United States or Canada.

Question 16: Papiamento is nu al een paar jaar een vak in het voortgezet onderwijs dit heeft een positieve invloed gehad op de prestaties van leerlingen./ Papiamento has been a subject for a couple of years now, this has had an positive influence on the pupil's achievement.





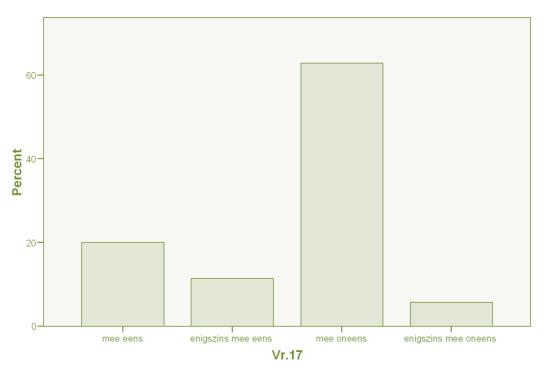
Mean= 2,43/SD=0.88.

The above table shows that a majority of 48% of the participants slightly agree with the statement that the introduction of Papiamento in secondary education has had a positive influence on the achievements of pupils. The arguments provided for this are that pupils have gained more confidence in expressing themselves during class, because of the increase of proficiency level in Papiamento. Now they are not only to speak Papiamento better but more important have gained grammatical knowledge that enables the pupils to correctly write in Papiamento.

The 25% of the participants that do not agree with the fact that Papiamento has had a positive influence on the achievements of the pupils, provide as argument that the workload has increased for the pupils, because of the difficulty of the grammar of Papiamento the pupils have to invest a lot of time in order to master the grammar. There is a negative influence because of the lack of a standardized Papiamento on Aruba, this is still work in progress. The level of proficiency of Dutch has decreased since the introduction of the compulsory subject Papiamento in the first three years of secondary education. Another common argument provided is that there is no scientific proof to support the statement that the introduction has had a positive influence. Inquiries should be done among pupils as well as teachers before one can comment upon this issue.

Question 17: Het vak Papiamento moet uit het onderwijspakket worden gehaald./ The subject should be taken out of the curriculum.



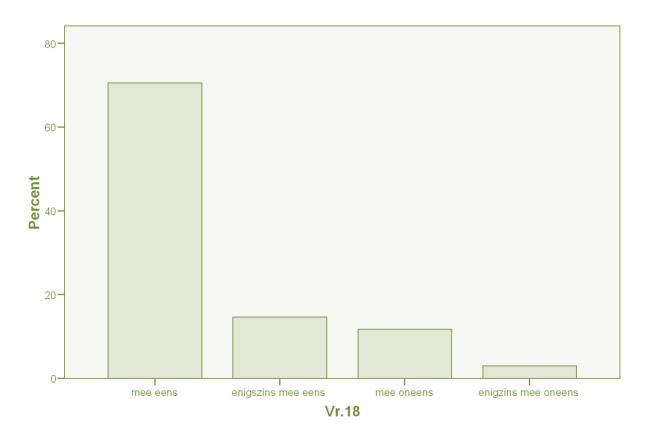


Mean= 2,55/ SD= 0,88.

The above table shows that 62% of the participants disagree with the statement that subject Papiamento should be taken out the curriculum. Arguments provided for this are that as it is the official language of the island alongside Dutch pupils should be able to read and write in that language. Another argument provided is that it is the native language of the pupils and therefore belongs in the curriculum. Another participant supports the statement by saying it should not only be in the first three years of secondary education but should also be part of the curriculum in primary education.

Question 18: Een goede beheersing van je moedertaal is een voorwaarde om andere talen te leren./ A sufficient level of proficiency in one's native language is necessary in order to learn other languages.

Vr.18



Mean= 1,47/SD=0,83.

As can be seen in this table 70% of the participants agree with the fact that one should have a sufficient level of proficiency in order to learn other languages. And a small group of 15% of the participants say that they do not agree with this statement.

Chapter 6 Discussion

Based on the results provided in the previous chapter, this chapter will provide a discussion of the interviews held with participants and Government publications consulted on the matter of language in secondary education. Furthermore the results of the questionnaires provided to the teachers of four secondary schools that participated in this study will be discussed.

6.1 Discussion Interviews and Government publications consulted
From the interviews with the policymakers at the Department of Education and
PRIEPEB, I confirmed my initial thought, there is a real division on the issue of
Papiamento in secondary education, and in general for that matter. Government
publications consulted are all on the role of Papiamento in primary education. This is not
surprising, because this should be in place before starting to implement language policies
and plans in secondary education, which is the focus of this paper. To summarize the
current situation of language policy and language planning on Aruba, there are several
factors that can be mentioned.

The 'they-us controversy': ken ta Arubano (who is Aruban), as mentioned by Emerencia (1998), remains an overlapping issue in all the discussions and language policy development. The key question to be answered, like in Cooper's model (see chapter 2) is 'who is the Aruban language policy (educational system) to serve?'.

Depending on the answer to this question several proposals for the management of language in primary and secondary school can be offered, and have been offered up until now.

There has not been an implementation yet of plans developed in the past. The first pilot school working with the multilingual model proposed by PRIEPEB, Grupo modelo di Idioma (2001), was supposed to start in August 2007, but due to organizational problems it has been postponed to August 2008. Results of this pilot have to be analyzed, to improve the model, before applying it to other primary schools.

The only real accomplishment in fact has been the law passed in 2003, where next to Dutch, Papiamento is considered to be the official languages of Aruba. Each new minister of education has different ideas about the implementation of Papiamento in education. The current minister of Education, is rather skeptic on the introduction of Papiamento and only has approved a budget that supports the introduction for the first 2 years of primary education. ¹⁴

The other, by some people considered, accomplishment has been the introduction of Papiamento as a compulsory subject in the first three years of secondary education. After this period it is an optional subject depending on the profile of subjects chosen by the student. The Department of Education has come a long way in the development of teaching methods for the first three years. The method used is based on the teaching method used on Curacao "Crystal", this method is created from a point of view that in order to learn a language, in this case your first language, the material presented should be adapted to the experience from one's own community¹⁵.

Even though there are a number of examples in everyday life and scientific reports to prove the contrary, the general opinion remains that Dutch is the most important language in education. Parents especially fear that the future of their children will be at stake, if there is a change in language policy. The fact that the number of drop outs from secondary school continues to rise every year and the fact that only about 5% of students from secondary school continue their education in the Netherlands do not seem to have an influence on the general opinion (Statistical Report by the Department of Education, 2005).

The persons in charge with the development and implementation of new language policy work with this knowledge and try to make the public aware of the necessity for change in language policy in the educational system. Still they point out that they have not found a way yet to succeed in making the public aware in order for the changes to be accepted, including the teachers who also offer quite some resistance.

49

¹⁴ Primary education on Aruba starts at the age of 6, before that children attend kindergarten, which are separate schools. Note that in kindergarten and schools for special education, Papiamento has been the language for instruction for several decades (Emerencia, 1998).

¹⁵ In appendix 4, an example is shown of a part of a chapter from 'Crystal'.

6.2 Discussion Questionnaire

In the previous chapter an overview is given of the most common arguments for the statements in the questionnaire. The first point to be mentioned regarding these arguments, is that only 14 out of the 35 participants gave arguments. The arguments given in some cases were rather elaborate as can be derived from the tables 1-19 in appendix 6. These arguments provide this study with valuable information on several factors that influence development of language policy and the implementation of it. The arguments will be discussed according to the topic of the statements.

Topic of statement: Academic achievements of pupils (questions 8, 9 and 10).

On the question whether the academic achievements of pupils depends on whether they are fluent enough in their native language, the arguments in favor of this statement are based on the fact that it has been proven by research, and that it will helps when learning other languages. The arguments against, state that it does not only depend on the fluency of one's native language but also very important is the personal interest and motivation of the pupil. On the statement regarding the influence of Dutch on the academic achievements of pupils, the participants say that because the educational system is based on the Dutch system, the fluency of Dutch will influence the achievements.

On the question (11) whether being fluent in several languages positively influences the achievements, participants said in favor of the statement that because of it pupils are able to use several resources in different languages. The arguments against the statement say that a pupil has to be fluent in 1 language (possibly the native language) before learning other languages, and trying to learn several languages at the same time will only make it more difficult for the pupil.

Topic of statement: languages of instruction (questions 12, 13, 14 and 15).

For Papiamento as language of instruction there are almost no arguments that completely support this statement. The participants point out that because almost all materials are in Dutch and the assessment is in Dutch it is not a real option. Some participants however say that a combination of Papiamento next to Dutch as language of instruction is a good option, to help the pupils better understand the matter.

There are arguments in favor of English as language of instruction, the participants state that English is closer to 'home' compared to Dutch, they note however that the teaching method should be offered in English as well.

Topic of statement: Papiamento as subject in the curriculum.

Arguments in favor of Papiamento as a subject say that it helps to improve the pupil's proficiency and therefore, helps them to express themselves better in their native language. Argument against it state that because of the introduction of Papiamento, a greater burden has been created for the pupils. The grammar of Papiamento is rather hard to acquire according to some of the participants. On the statement whether the introduction of Papiamento as subject in secondary education has improved the achievements of pupils, most participants say that is too early to judge that, or like 1 participant says it is not visible yet. A number of participants ask whether research has been done on this issue and state that scientific proof is necessary before being to comment upon this issue.

Another interesting result from the questionnaire is the fact that most participants (80%) say that they are willing to receive training to use another language of instruction that is not Dutch during the classes they teach. Considering the average age 41 years of the participants, this could be considered rather surprising, it sometimes assumed that the higher the age the less the willingness of teachers to be retrained and to let go of their traditional ways of teaching. The willingness of the teachers to be retrained is further on supported by the answers provided to questions on the other possibilities as languages of instruction such as Papiamento and English for certain subjects. The willingness of the teachers should however be balanced by the fact that 49% of the participants state that they believe Dutch should remain the language of instruction.

The participants from EPB San Nicolas were rather positive on the use of Papiamento as language of instruction, the reason for this maybe that on this level of vocational education Papiamento is used as language of instruction. The comment made by some participants from this same school was that some of their colleagues do not have Papiamento as their first language, which confuses the pupils when receiving instructions

from these teachers¹⁶. So when considering to retrain teachers in order to use another language of instruction, a careful consideration should be made on how this training is further on developed and implemented.

The following chapter will draw some conclusions from the previous discussion of the results gained from research and the theory and background chapter of this thesis.

 16 These teachers that come from abroad (mostly Surinam) all received a training at IPA in order to be able to teach in Papiamento at EPB.

Chapter 7 Conclusion and suggestions for further research

§7.1 Conclusion

This thesis has considered the issues regarding the role of the indigenous language Papiamento in secondary education in Aruba in terms of a socio-cultural context as provided in the theoretical framework (see chapter 2). The focus of this study was on the teachers and the government officials concerned with the language related educational reforms. The complexity of the matter lies in the fact that Aruba is a multilingual society with a monolingual educational system.

According to Cooper (1989)"every language problem starts with a social problem". "Descriptive frameworks are molds wherein behavior may be poured to cool and harden for analysis" (Cooper, p 58). When analyzing the Aruban language situation within a socio-cultural framework, one can find that the social problem, which started since Aruba was colonized by the Netherlands and continued even after the decolonization period, can be described as a social problem that is characterized by the fact that having several options makes the choice for one suitable policy rather difficult.

In 1896 Hamelberg (see footnote 4) proposed bilingual education, he probably would have never imagined that 112 years later there still would be a fierce discussion concerning the appropriate language policy and the role of Papiamento in education. Considering the events that have taken place in the last 112 years, one can state the issue is a long way from being resolved. The reason for this is that language is crucial part of a culture and therefore it is an issue that is politically and emotionally overcharged.

When conducting this research the political and emotional factors influencing the discussion on the role of Papiamento became very much apparent. As can be concluded from the results from the interviews and the questionnaires, the role of Papiamento and its implications on the educational structure in secondary school will have to be more clearly defined. Furthermore it has been proven by the results that the teachers are very

much willing to be retrained in order to improve the language situation in secondary schools, this is something very valuable for the implementation of a new language policy.

The role of Dutch in the community is rather clear but is only based on personal beliefs and not on statistical facts. The most common reason heard for the preservation of Dutch in schools is that 'most students go to the Netherlands to continue their education'. As can be found in the statics report from the Department of Education, only 5% of all pupils go to the Netherlands to continue their education, which by the way is also transcending to an English dominated form of higher education. The majority of pupils will remain on Aruba and will not be using Dutch, as the language of the local economy is Papiamento and English. The fact that all the materials used in secondary schools are Dutch is the only reason to support the preservation of Dutch as language of instruction.

As the participants of the study pointed out other options such as English for example should be explored.

§7.2 Suggestions for further research and implementation of new policy.

As is mentioned in the previous part of the chapter, the situation remains complex and needs careful consideration before starting with the implementation of a new language policy in secondary education.

For further research can be recommended to conduct a larger scale study among teachers on the most suitable language/languages of instruction, after an evaluation has taken place of the introduction of Papiamento as a compulsory subject in secondary school, where not only the teachers but also the pupils are included.

The basis of the language policy starts in primary education, the already developed policy (multilingual educational system) should be set in place and evaluated, before desiring a language policy in secondary education that builds upon the policy in primary education.

The shift from a monolingual educational system towards a multilingual educational system will have to take place in three steps/levels being;

1. *Knowledge*: Members of the local community need to be informed on certain facts that will contradict their personal beliefs on the issue of Papiamento in the educational system. A few examples are: the fact that the drop out numbers are rising and that the language problem pupils have contributes to this tendency as

- teachers themselves point out. Another fact is that only 5% of pupils continue their education in the Netherlands and that according to CBS Dutch is the fourth language on the island.
- 2. *Attitude:* When people have received the knowledge of the facts surrounding the issue of Papiamento, they will have the tools to change their attitude and be more perceptive to change for the better.
- 3. *Behavior:* When implementing new policy one will need the participation of different groups within the community, these include for example the teachers, pupils and government officials.

The three steps/levels mentioned above may sound a bit difficult to follow, but when you have a goal that concerns an entire community, you will have to set out and describe the steps that need to be taken in order to reach that goal. This reflects the concept of language planning, analyze the situation and describe the steps that need to be taken. The fact that language is a constant changing matter as it forms part of a culture makes this task even more challenging.

Bibliography

- Boekhoudt-Croes, R. (1995). <u>Multilingualismo I Enseñansa. Language Needs in Aruban Education</u>; a survey of the language use and language needs of the <u>Aruban working population</u>. Nijmegen: Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, Master Thesis.
- Broek, A.G. et al. (Ed). (2005). <u>De kleur van mijn eiland, ideologie en schrijven</u> in het Papiamentu sinds 1863. Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij.
- Cooper, R.L. (1989). <u>Language planning and social change</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Emerencia, L. (1998). The struggle for recognition of Papiamento in the Aruban school –A long story coming to an end?- (Paper presented at the Annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association (AERA). San Diego,
 California, April,1998). Aruba: Department of Education printing.
- Herrera, J.E. (2003). <u>Language planning and education in Aruba: Contexts and contradictions</u>. USA: The University of Arizona.
- Munslow, A. (2000). The Routledge companion to historical studies. In Wiley, T. (2006). The lessons of Historical Investigation: Implications for the Study of Language Policy and Planning (p.136). In Ricento, T. (Ed.), An Introduction to Language Policy theory and method (pp.135-152). USA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Putte van, F. (1994). De Nederlandse Koloniale Taalpolitiek op de Benedenwindse Antillen. In Groeneboer, C.R. (Ed.), <u>Koloniale Taalpolitiek in</u> <u>Oost en West: Nederlands-Indië, Suriname, Nederlandse Antillen en Aruba</u> (pp. 251-272). Amsterdam: University Press Amsterdam.
- Pronk, P. (2003). Staatsinrichting van Aruba. Aruba: Pro Graphics.
- Ricento, T. (Ed.). (2006). <u>An Introduction to Language Policy theory and method.</u>
 USA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Rostow, W. (1960). The stages of economic growth: A non-Communist manifesto. In Wiley, T. (2006). The lessons of Historical Investigation: Implications for the Study of Language Policy and Planning (p.136). In Ricento,

- T. (Ed.), <u>An Introduction to Language Policy theory and method</u> (pp.135-152). USA: Blackwell Publishing
- Rutgers, W. (1997). De postkoloniale taalsituatie op de Nederlandse Antillen en Aruba. In Groeneboer, C.R. (Ed.), <u>Koloniale Taalpolitiek in Oost en West:</u> <u>Nederlands-Indië, Suriname, Nederlandse Antillen en Aruba</u> (pp. 275-291). Amsterdam: University Press Amsterdam.
- Schiffman, H. (2006). Language policy and linguistic culture. In Ricento, T. (Ed.), <u>An Introduction to Language Policy theory and method</u> (pp.111-125). USA: Blackwell Publishing.
- White, H. (1975). Metahistory: The Historical imagination in nineteenth-century
 Europe. In Wiley, T. (2006). The lessons of Historical Investigation: Implications
 for the Study of Language Policy and Planning (p.137). In Ricento, T. (Ed.), <u>An</u>
 Introduction to Language Policy theory and method (pp.135-152). USA:
 Blackwell Publishing.
- Wiley, T. (2006). The lessons of Historical Investigation: Implications for the Study of Language Policy and Planning. In Ricento, T. (Ed.), <u>An Introduction to</u> <u>Language Policy theory and method</u> (pp.135-152). USA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Yule, G. (2006). <u>The study of Language.</u> United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

Government Publications consulted:

- Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS). (2001). <u>Censo Nacional 2001.</u> Oranjestad:
 CBS printing.
- Directie Onderwijs (2005). <u>Jaarverslag</u>. Aruba: Department of Education printing.
- Stuurgroep Herstructurering Avo (SHA). (1998). Na caminda pa restructuracion
 Di nos Enseñansa Secundario General, Op weg naar de Herstructurering van het
 algemeen voortgezet onderwijs. Aruba: Department of Education printing.
- Projectbureau SHA (2002). <u>De basiscyclus.... in vraag en antwoord. Veelgestelde</u>
 vragen over de innovatie van het algemeen vormend onderwijs en de antwoorden
 <u>daarop.</u> Aruba: Department of Education printing.

- Projectbureau SHA (2005). <u>Nota ciclo avansa</u>, <u>Beleidsvoorstellen voor de bovenbouw van het algemeen voortgezet onderwijs</u>. Aruba: Deparment of Education printing.
- Proyecto Inovacion di Enseñansa Preparatorio y Enseñansa Basico (PRIEPEB).
 (1999). <u>Un Bon Enseñansa Basico: Condicion pa un miho futuro, Plan Strategico</u>
 1999-2008. Aruba: Department of Education printing.
- Proyecto Inovacion di Enseñansa Preparatorio y Enseñansa Basico (PRIEPEB),
 Grupo Modelo di Idioma (Boekhoudt-Croes, Maduro, Pereira and Ruiz-Croes).
 (2001). <u>Habri porta pa nos drenta, proposicion pa modelo di idioma pa Enseñansa Basico Arubano.</u> Aruba: Department of Education printing.
- Sociaal Economische Raad (maart 2002). <u>Scholingsniveau in Aruba.</u> Aruba: SER printing.
- https:/www.ipa.aw.html
- https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/aa.html
- www.wikipedia.org
- http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aruba#Language

Appendix 1

Pal'I biento by Quito Nicolaas (2005)

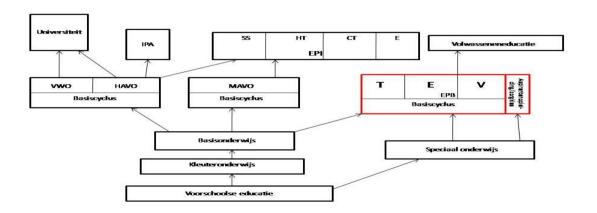
This poem is about courage and how courage can be alive. I chose this poem for two reasons the first one is because of the courage element, this is linked to the *courage* that is needed to design and later on implement a new language policy on Aruba where Papiamento will be given an appropriate role.

The second reason is that in line 2 of the poem "habri e porta pa e drenta" (open the door for 'it' to enter), is exactly what this thesis attempts to do open the door for 'Papiamento' to enter secondary education in a proper way.

Appendix 2

Table with the drop out numbers for the largest group of the secondary school population being the pupils attending EPB (lower vocational education).

Onderwijsstructuur op Aruba



Tabel 1. Aantal drop-outs van de EPB per schooljaar

Schooljaar	Aantal drop-outs per jaar	Aantal in procenten
1999-2000	136	7.28%
2000-2001	170	8.08%
2001-2002	210	9.53%
2002-2003	173	8.06%
2003-2004	174	8.65%
2004-2005	177	8.93%
2005-2006	164	7.72%

Bron: Jaarverslag van SEPB 2003,2004 en 2005 en Jaarverslag van Directie Onderwijs, 2006.

Appendix 3

This is the questionnaire for the teachers.

Ik ben een Master studente Toegepaste Taalwetenschap aan de Rijks Universiteit Groningen.

Ik ben bezig met mijn master scriptie, hiervoor onderzoek ik de rol van het vak Papiamento naast Nederlands in het voortgezet onderwijs in het heden en in het toekomstige taalbeleid.

Hieronder vindt U een vragenlijst om u mening hierover te geven.

Por contesta e pregunta nan na Papiamento tambe si ta desea esei.

Alva

Mas

Van

sha	bedankt voor u medewerking! Danki! sa Pietersz
	Wat is uw geslacht? O Man O Vrouw Wat is uw leeftijd?
3.	Wat is het niveau van u hoogst genoten opleiding? O MBO O HBO O Universiteit
4.	Hoeveel jaar ervaring heeft u in het voortgezet onderwijs op Aruba?
5.	Hoeveel jaar ervaring heeft u in het voorgezet onderwijs in Nederland of elders?
6.	Wat is uw 1 ^e taal?
7.	Welk vak/vakken geeft u?
8.	Zou u bereidt zijn om omgeschoold te worden om een andere instructietaal te gebruiken in het lesgeven? O Ja O Nee
	eronder volgen een aantal stellingen en u kunt aangeven in welke mate u het ermee as bent.
9.	Het schoolsucces van leerlingen is het gevolg van de mate waarin ze hun moedertaal beheersen. O Mee eens O Enigszins mee eens O Mee oneens O Enigszins mee oneens
	Argumenten tegen:
	Argumenten voor:

10.	Het schoolsucces van leerlingen is het gevolg van de mate waarin ze de
10.	Nederlandse taal beheersen.
	O Mee eens
	O Enigszins mee eens
	O Mee oneens
	O Enigszins mee oneens
	Argumenten tegen:
	Argumenten voor:
	Tiguillemen voor.
1	1. Het beheersen van meerdere talen heeft een positief effect op het schoolsucces
•	van leerlingen.
	O Mee eens
	O Enigszins mee eens
	O Mee oneens
	O Enigszins mee oneens
	Argumenten tegen:
	6
	Argumenten voor:
12	2. Papiamento moet worden ingevoerd als instructietaal in het voortgezet onderwijs.
	O Mee eens
	O Enigszins mee eens
	O Mee oneens
	O Enigszins mee oneens
	Argumenten tegen:
	Argumenten voor:
13	3. Nederlands moet als enige instructietaal blijven in het voortgezet onderwijs
	O Mee eens
	O Enigszins mee eens
	O Mee oneens
	O Enigszins mee oneens
	Argumenten tegen:

	A
	Argumenten voor:
14.	Papiamento moet ingezet worden als hulpmiddel bij het geven van instructie tijdens de lessen. O Mee eens O Enigszins mee eens
	O Mee oneens
	O Enigszins mee oneens
	Argumenten tegen:
	Argumenten voor:
15.	Engels als instructie taal voor een aantal vakken is een optie. O Mee eens
	O Enigszins mee eens
	O Mee oneens
	O Enigszins mee oneens
	Argumenten tegen:
	1 - Bonnen Bonne
	Argumenten voor:
	Tugumenten voor.
16.	Papiamento is nu al een paar jaar een vak in het voortgezet onderwijs dit heeft een
	positieve invloed gehad op de prestaties van de leerlingen.
	O Mee eens
	O Enigszins mee eens
	O Mee oneens
	O Enigszins mee oneens
	Argumenten tegen:
	A
	Argumenten voor:
17.	Het vak Papiamento moet uit het onderwijspakket worden gehaald. O Mee eens
	O Enigszins mee eens

0	Mee oneens
0	Enigszins mee oneens
	gumenten tegen:
Ar	gumenten voor:
••••	
••••	
18. Ee	n goede beheersing van je moedertaal is een voorwaarde om andere talen te
	en.
	Mee eens
_	Enigszins mee eens
	Mee oneens
	Enigszins mee oneens
	piamento moet alleen in het basisonderwijs een belangrijk rol spelen.
	Mee eens
	Enigszins mee eens
	Mee oneens
	Enigszins mee oneens
0.	Emgs2ms nice oncens
20. Ne	ederlands moet de belangrijkste taal in het voortgezet onderwijs blijven.
0	Mee eens
0	Enigszins mee eens
0	Mee oneens
0	Enigszins mee oneens
21. Pa	piamento moet even belangrijk blijven als het Nederlands worden in het
VO	ortgezet onderwijs.
0	Mee eens
	Enigszins mee eens
	Mee oneens
0	Enigszins mee oneens
22. En	gels moet even belangrijk als het Nederlands worden in het voortgezet
	derwijs.
	Mee eens
0	Enigszins mee eens
	Mee oneens
0	Enigszins mee oneens
Hierondon	is er nog ruimte voor commenteer
Theronder	r is er nog ruimte voor commentaar.
•••••	

••

•				
•				
•				

Masha Danki pa vul in e vragenlijst aki!!!!
Please entreg'e bek serka Senora Van der Linden.

Appendix 4

Language and education policy makers at the department of Education.

- 1. What is the current political position on Papiamento in secondary education?
- 2. Is there a separate department who works on the issue of Papiamento, if yes where can I find this department?
- 3. Are there any research reports written on the topic of Papiamento in secondary education?
- 4. Does the Department of Education want to have the same policy in secondary education as is now the case in primary education?
- 5. Which schools have already implemented Papiamento as a subject in their curriculum?
- 6. Do you think schools and teacher who work there would want to participate in this study?
- 7. Is official permission needed before conducting this study among teachers?
- 8. How many teachers do you think should participate in order to make the study valid for consideration by the minister of Education?

Meeting with the project group, who works on the development and implementation of Papiamento in primary and secondary education.

- 1. What is the proficiency level of pupils when they start secondary school?
- 2. How many years has Papiamento been a subject in secondary schools?
- 3. What is the current situation in primary school, has Papiamento already been implemented as planned.
- 4. What is the method used in secondary education to teach Papiamento?
- 5. What does the project group expect from a report on the issue of Papiamento in secondary education?
- 6. What do you think of the issue of level of proficiency of the pupils when starting secondary schools? Wouldn't you say it is not realistic to expect the pupils to

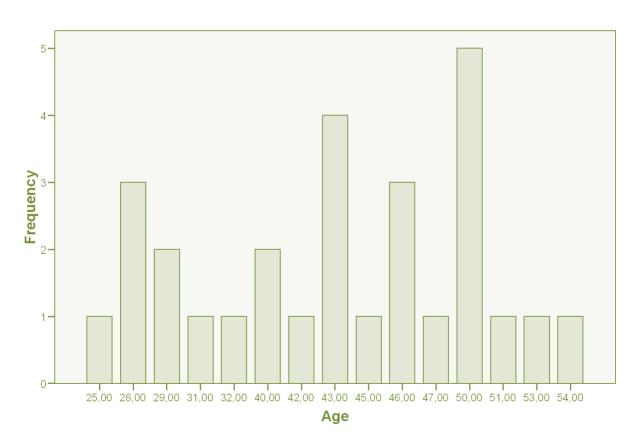
- participate in the Papiamento classes at the current level, when in primary school the necessary level of proficiency has not been reached?
- 7. In the Netherlands some schools use a method where the teacher explains in the pupil's first language for example Turkish. This has proven quite successful; do you think such a method of instruction is plausible for secondary schools here?

Appendix 5 Results questionnaire

Correlations

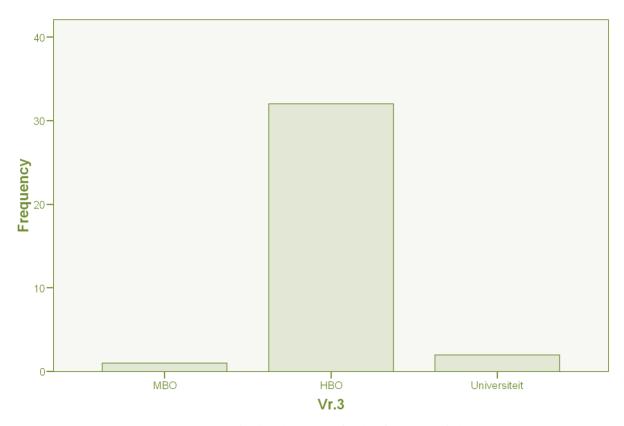
		Vr.12	Vr.14
Vr.12	Pearson Correlation	1	,162
	Sig. (2-tailed)		,351
	N	35	35
Vr.14	Pearson Correlation	,162	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,351	
	N	35	35

Age



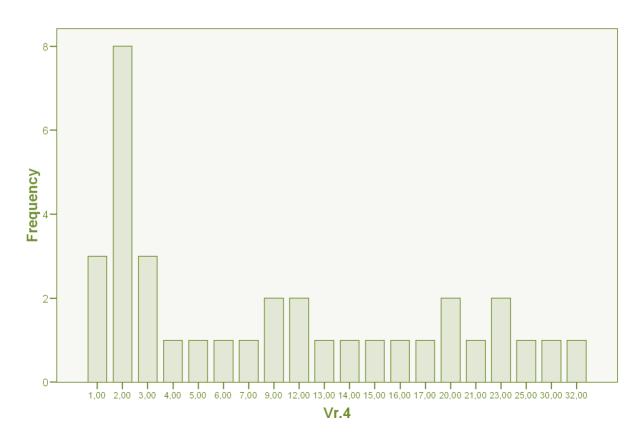
Statistics

Age		
N	Valid	28
	Missing	7
Mean		41,2857
Std. Deviation		9,35259



The graph above shows that the majority (32 out of 35) of the participants have Higher vocational education as the highest level of education.

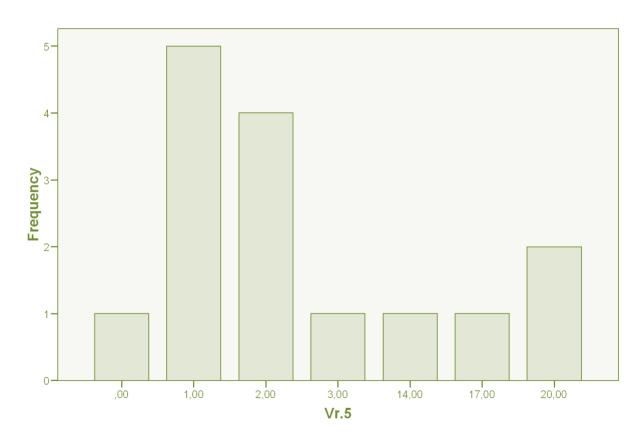
Vr.4



Statistics

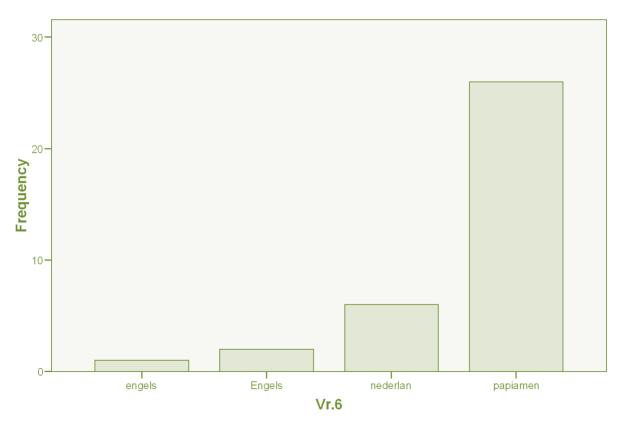
Vr.4		
N	Valid	35
	Missing	0
Mean		10,3143
Std. Deviation		9,23157
Skewness		,795
Std. Error of Skewness		,398

Vr.5



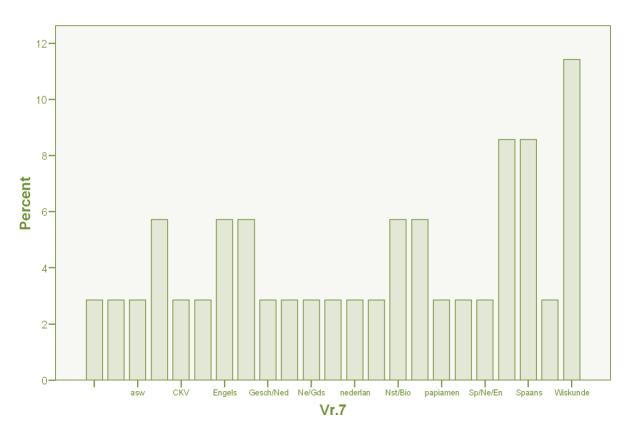
Statistics

Vr.5		
N	Valid	15
	Missing	20
Mean		5,8000
Std. Deviation		7,60827
Skewness		1,253
Std. Error of Skew ness		,580



This graph shows us that most participants have Papiamento as their first language, which is rather relevant for the interpretation of the rest of the questions.

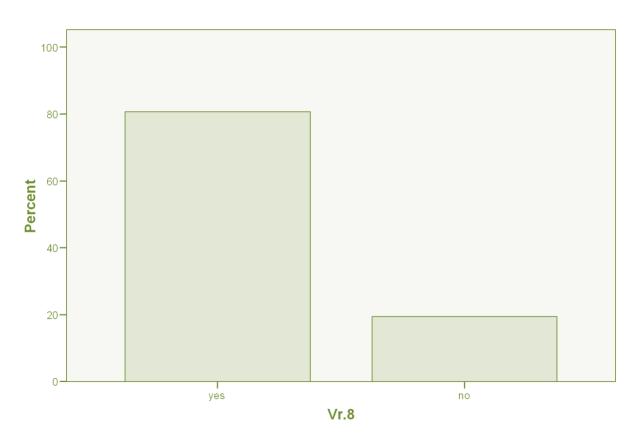
Vr.7



Statistics

\	r.7	
N	Valid	35
	Missing	0

Vr.8



<u>Vr.8</u>		
N	Valid	31
	Missing	4
Mean		1,1935
Std. Deviation		,40161
Skewness		1,631
Std. Error of Skew ne	SS	,421

Question 9: Het schoolsucces van leerlingen is het gevolg van de mate waarin ze hun moedertaal beheersen/ The academic achievements of pupils is the result of the level of proficiency of the native language.

Statistics

	Vr.9		
	N	Valid	35
		Missing	0
	Mean		1,9714
L	Std. Deviation		,82197

Question 10: Het schoolsucces van leerlingen is het gevolg van de mate waarin ze de Nederlandse taal beheersen./ The academic achievements of pupils depends on their level of proficiency in Dutch.

Statistics

Vr.10		
N	Valid	34
	Missing	1
Mean		1,6176
Std. Deviation		,69695

Question 11: Het beheersen van meerdere talen heeft een positief effect op het schoolsucces van leerlingen./ Having proficiency in several languages has a positive effect on the achievement of pupils. (see text for table)

Question 12: Papiamento moet worden ingevoerd als instructietaal in het voortgezet onderwijs./ Papiamento should be introduced as the language of instruction in secondary schools. (see text for table)

Question 13: Nederlands moet als enige instructietaal blijven in het onderwijs./ Dutch should remain the only language of instruction in secondary education. See text for graph.

<u>Vr.13</u>		
N	Valid	34
	Missing	1
Mean		1,9706
Std. Deviation		1,08670

Question 14: Papiamento moet ingezet worden als hulpmiddel bij het geven van instructie./ Papiamento should be used as a tool when giving instructions. See text for graph.

Statistics

<u>Vr.14</u>		
N	Valid	35
	Missing	0
Mean		1,4000
Std. Deviation		,55307

Question 15: Engels als instructie taal voor een aantal vakken is een optie./ English as language of instruction can be used in certain subjects. See text for graph.

<u>Vr.15</u>		
N	Valid	35
	Missing	0
Mean		1,6571
Std. Deviation		,80231

Question 16: Papiamento is nu al een paar jaar een vak in het voortgezet onderwijs dit heeft een positieve invloed gehad op de prestaties van leerlingen./ Papiamento has been a subject for a couple of years now, this has had an positive influence on the pupil's achievement. See text for graph.

Statistics

<u>Vr.16</u>		
N	Valid	28
	Missing	7
Mean		2,4286
Std. Deviation		,87891

Question 17: Het vak papiamento moet uit het onderwijspakket worden gehaald./ The subject should be taken out of the curriculum. See text for graph.

Statistics

Vr.17		
N	Valid	35
	Missing	0
Mean		2,5429
Std. Deviation		,88593

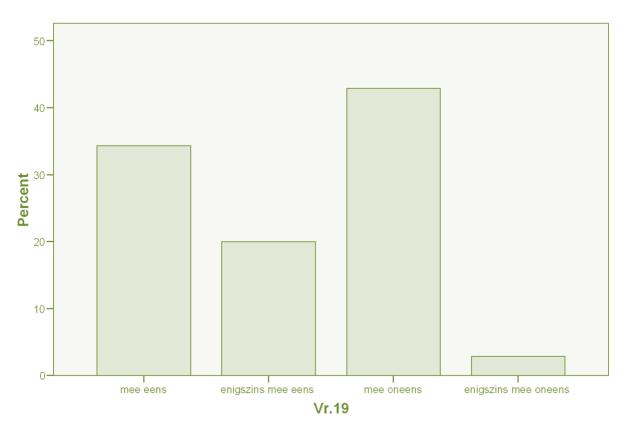
Question 18: Een goede beheersing van je moedertaal is een voorwaarde om andere talen te leren./ A sufficient level of proficiency in one's native language is necessary in order to learn other languages. See text for graph.

<u>Vr.18</u>		
N	Valid	34
	Missing	1
Mean		1,4706
Std. Deviati	on	,82518

Question 19: Papimento moet alleen in het basisonderwijs een belangrijke rol spleen./ Only in primary education Papiamento should have an important role.

Vr.19		
N	Valid	35
	Missing	0
Mean		2,1429
Std. Deviation		,94380

Vr.19

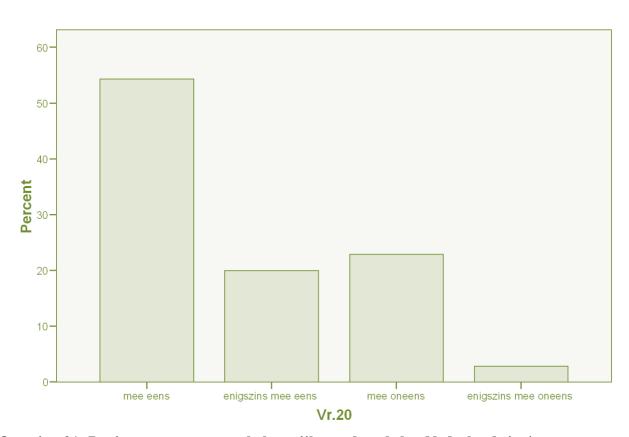


Question 20: Nederlands moet de belangrijkste taal in het onderwijs blijven./ Dutch should remain the most important language in education.

Statistics

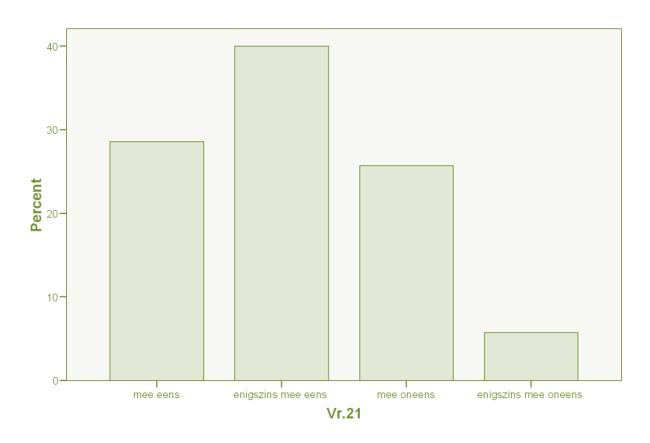
Vr.20		
N	Valid	35
	Missing	0
Mean		1,7429
Std. Deviation		,91853

Vr.20



Question 21: Papiamento moet even belangrijk worden als het Nederlands is. / Papiamento should become as improtant as Dutch is.

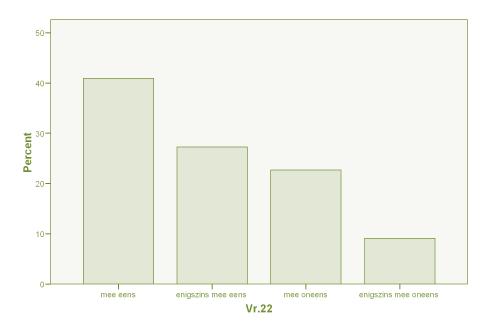
Vr.20		
N	Valid	35
	Missing	0
Mean		1,7429
Std. Deviation		,91853



Question 22: Engels moet even belangrijk worden als het Nederlands worden in het voortgezet onderwijs./ English should become as important as Dutch is.

Vr.22		
N	Valid	22
	Missing	13
Mean		2,0000
Std. Deviation	l	2,0000 1,02353





Appendix 6 Results: tables of the arguments provided to the questions 9-17 of the questionnaire.

Table 1Question 9: het schoolsucces van leerlingen is het gevolg van de mate waarin ze hun moedertaal beheersen.

Question 9	Arguments in favor
1	Degene die leert denken en verwoorden in zijn haar moedertaal zal geen
	geen problemen hebben een andere taal te leren.
	Een goede kennis van je moedertaal is de basis voor het leren van een
2	andere taal.
	Het maakt het denkproces makkelijker doordat de leerlinge niet continu
3	hoeft te vertalen
4	Alles wat je leert relateer je terug naar je moedertaal en je belevingswereld.
5	Andere factoren spelen ook een rol
7	Door Algemene Taalwetenschap bewezen.

Table 2

Question 9	Arguments against
1	Op Aruba moeten ze dan eerst Papiaments goed kunnen.
2	De officiële taal op Aruba is nog steeds Nederlands en alle
	proefwerken en examens worden in die taal gegeven. Aruba en
	de
	Antillen zijn te kleine eilanden. Het zijn de enige eilanden waar
	Papiamento gesproken wordt. We doen onze kinderen tekort en
	zeker op het gebied van vervolgstudie als we het Papiamento
	volledig gaan invoeren. Ze hebben het nu al moeilijk in
	Nederland, hoe zal het dan worden. Meer dan 50% van onze
	kinderen studeert verder in Nederland.
	Maar om te denken in het Nederlands kan ook aangeleerd worden.
3	Taal is belangrijk , maar inzicht in het vak en inzet van de leerling
	en interesse in het vak ook.
4	Leerlingen kunnen zich indien ze hun moedertaal goed beheersen,
	gemakkelijker uitdrukken, omgaan met andere talen.
5	Het is ook afhankelijk van hun eigen motivatie, merendeel.
7	Ze moeten hun moedertaal (Papiamento) en het Nederlands
	goed kunnen beheersen.

Question 10:

Het schoolsucces van leerlingen is het gevolg van de mate waarin ze de Nederlandse taal beheersen.

Question 10	Arguments in favor
	50% van de Iln. Gaat in Nederland studeren en momenteel is het
1	schoolsysteem
	nog op het Ned. Systeem gebaseerd.
2	Zolang Nederlands instructietaal is en blijft.
	De leerlingen kunnen de Nederlandse taal niet op een MAVO niveau
3	beheersen.
	De taal blijft een groot probleem.
	Onze leerlingen beheersen het Nederlands goed, niet perfect doordat wij hen
4	niet
	dwingen te spreken, helpen we hun ook niet. Twijfel niet aan de intelligentie
	van onze kinderen.
5	Toetsen worden meestal in het Nederlands afgenomen als je de taal niet/slecht
	beheerst heb je weinig kans op goede cijfers die het schoolsucces in hoge
	mate bepalen.
	Omdat de instructietaal Ned. Is. In het voortgezet onderwijs worden de
6	examens nog steeds in het Nederlands afgenomen.
7	Andere factoren spelen ook een rol.
8	Ned. Is officiële taal, Instructietaal, S.O.'s en examens worden afgelegd in het
	Nederlands.
9	Alle examens zijn in het Nederlands
10	De officiële instructietaal is Nederlands. Als een leerling dat beheerst kan hij/zij
	de lessen beter volgen.

Table 4

Question	
10	Arguments against
1	De Iln. Beheersen 50% van de Nederlandse taal dus het maakt
	niks uit. Hier op Aruba wordt Nederlands door een kleine groep
	mensen gesproken dus leeft het minder in 't volk.
2	Dominio insufficiente di idioma Hulandes ta causa di prestacion
	abou di alumnonan den casi tur materia.
3	Er zijn een paar mensen op het eiland die zo redeneren omdat hun kinderen het niet kunnen, het overgrote deel lukt het goed. Boven- dien de mensen die zo redeneren lopen bijna allemaal met een
	Nederlandse diploma op zak! Dat is egoïstisch what about leerlin-
	gen van nu en de toekomst.

4	Niet alleen de taalintelligentie, linguïstische vaardigheden spelen een
	rol maar ook logica, analytisch vermogen en interesse en inzet v.d. leerling.
5	Eigen initiatief/motivatie speelt een grote rol.

Question 11: Het beheersen van meerdere talen heeft een positief effect op het schoolsucces van leerlingen.

Question 11	Arguments in favor
1	Jammer dat Frans niet meer gegeven wordt. Globalisering eist kennis van
	meerdere talen.
2	Als een leerling meerdere talen beheerst kan hij ook verschillende bronnen
	van informatie gebruiken en beperkt hij zichzelf niet tot een kleine wereld.
3	Je kunt het geleerde relateren met een andere taal en misschien ook in een
	andere situatie.
4	Leerlingen leren op een flexibele manier om te gaan met talen.
5	Veel andere factoren spelen een rol bij schoolsucces.
6	Hoe meer talen iemand beheerst hoe beter.

Table 6

Question	
11	Arguments against
	Sommige leerlingen vertikken het om andere talen te leren omdat
1	ze
	hun eigen moedertaal belangrijker vinden. (Nationalisme of
	intelligentie is probleem).
2	Hangt ervan af sommige mensen spreken veel talen, maar be-
	heersen ze op conversatieniveau terwijl grammatica ook belangrijk
	is.
3	Te veel talen vertroebelt het geheugen van een leerling. Eerst
	moeten ze de eerste taal kunnen beheersen.

Table 7

Question 12: Papiamento moet worden ingevoerd als instructietaal in het voortgezet onderwijs

Question 12	Arguments in favor
1	Het moest naast het Nederlands ook als instructietaal gebruikt worden. Meer
	dan 80% can de Iln. In een klas heeft Papiamento als 1ste of 2e taal.
2	Banda di Hulandes

3	Alleen als het niet abrupt ingevoerd wordt, als de invoering op de basisschool
	successvol verlopen is.
4	Als het wordt gebruikt als hulpmiddel ter verduideliking is het wel goed.
5	Aan de ene kant vind ik van wel maar aan de andere kant is het moeilijk om
	hierover te beslissen, want toch gaat een gedeelte straks studeren in Nederland.
	En examens komen nog steeds uit Nederland en dan wordt het heel moeilijk
	voor de leerlingen.
6	een vak als wiskunde met nieuwe begrippen moet aansluiten op de wereld bele-
	ving van de leerling, meestal 2 talige uitleg vereist.
7	In de Om hunzelf/jezelf te leren uitdrukken zowel oraal als schriftelijk.

Question	
12	Arguments against
1	Op Aruba moeten ze dan Papiaments goed kunnen beheersen.
2	Niet alle leerlingen beheersen Papiamento.
	We helpen de leerlingen daar niet mee, want we maken hun
3	studie-
	mogelijkheden kleiner.
4	Onze leerlingen moeten in het buitenland verder kunnen studeren
	in een vreemde taal Papiamento kennis is niet genoeg.
5	Enigszins mee eens want men moet niet vergeten dat toch de
	meeste studenten verder studeren in Nederland.
6	Een groot gedeelte van de docenten in het v.o. beheersen het
	papiamento niet goed genoeg om het als instructietaal te gebruiken.
	En zijn ook niet genoeg gemotiveerd om over te stappen.
	Ortografie is niet vastgesteld. Docenten die Papiamento geven
7	zijn niet goed opgeleid!
8	Omdat de leerboeken en de examens in het Nederlands zijn.

Table 9

11. Question 13: Nederlands moet als enige instructietaal blijven in het voortgezet onderwijs

Question 13	Arguments in favor
1	Geograficamente y internacionalmente Ingles y Spano ta otro opcionnan.

2	De leerlingen kunnen de Nederlandse taal niet op een MAVO niveau beheersen.
_	De taal blijft een groot probleem.
3	Ja het examen is nog in het Nederlands.
	Nederland blijft het land waar de meeste gaan studeren en door Ned.
4	Examens
	te maken zijn de diploma's internationaal erkend.
5	Zolang je de instructie in de boeken niet verandert.

Question	
13	Arguments against
1	Het moet als taal (vak) gegeven worden. Laat bv. Engels naast
	Pap. Instructietaal worden.
2	Er zijn andere mogelijkheden. Engels, Spaans, Papiamento
	Het hoeft niet alleen Nederlands te zijn het kan ook Engels
3	worden
	je helpt ze zo aan meer mogelijkheden voor verdere studie.
	De leerling moet het geleerde kunnen relateren naar zijn
4	omgeving
	dagelijkse werkelijkheid.
5	Naast Nederlands als instructietaal ook papiamento, om de kind-
	eren die het Ned. Niet beheersen toch een fair chance te geven.
	Op HAVO en VWO niveau gaan de meeste studenten verder
6	stude-
	ren, dus die hebben het Ned. wel nodig.
	Voor studenten die op Aruba of Antillen blijven of in de regio,
	blijven hebben het Nederlands niet nodig.
7	Engels zou beter zijn, taal met meer woorden in de wereld,
	globale, economische en technische taal.
8	Meeste leerlingen volgen later een opleiding, maar instructietaal
	zou ook een andere taal kunnen zijn, zodat de stof beter
	begrepen
	wordt en eigen wordt gemaakt.
9	Als je de leerboeken en examens in het Papiamento hebt dan is
	beter.
	Voor verdere studie zijn andere talen ook mogelijk bijv. Engels
10	of Spaans.

Table 11

Question 14: Papiamento moet ingezet worden als hulpmiddel bij het geven van instructie tijdens de lessen.

Question 14	Arguments in favor

1	De leerlingen zullen dan bijvoorbeeld de vragen die op een proefwerkgesteld
	worden wel beter begrijpen.
2	De leerlingen kunnen dan inhoudelijk de leerstoffen beter begrijpen.
3	Het helpt de leerling ter verduidelijking.
4	Nieuwe begrippen/kennis/vaardigheden moeten gerelateerd worden naar
	voor de leerling bekende begrippen (moedertaal).
5	Naast Nederlands als instructietaal ook Papiamento, om de kind-
	eren die het Ned. Niet beheersen toch een fair chance te geven.
6	Het is een levende taal, wordt overal in de gemeenschap gesproken
	genoeg literatuur aanwezig, taal is een deel van onze cultuur en identiteit.
7	Kan soms verduidelijking brengen in de stof.
8	Leerling moet de stof beheersen door pap. te gebruiken als hulpmiddel,
	biedt je een II meer kans om de stof te begrijpen.
9	Voor uitleg zeker

Question	
14	Arguments against
	Het moet een hulpmiddel zijn en niet alleen Papiamento, want
1	als
	je in het Nederlands toets, en in het papiamento lesgeeft is het
	voor de leerling oneerlijk.
2	Als je alleen Papiamento gebruikt gaat het tenkoste v.d. Neder-
	landse taalbeheersing.

Table 13

Question 15: Engels als instructie taal voor een aantal vakken is een optie.

	-
Question 15	Arguments in favor
1	Engels geeft je de mogelijkheid om je ook internationaal te ontwikkelen.
2	Vervolgopleiding in Engelssprekende landen: betere aansluiting.
3	Er zijn veel leerlingen die Engels als moedertaal hebben, en je kunt best uit-
	drukken in je moedertaal.
4	Computertaal is voornamelijk Engels techniek en voor Aruba , N.A. en regio
	Horeca vooral Engels.
5	Is een wereldtaal meeste worden globale technieken en economische taal.
6	leerlingen die ook studie in VS gaan volgen dan komt het zeer goed uit.
7	Engels voelen ze beter aan dan Nederlands.
8	Het is de taal die de leerlingen het meest aanspreekt!

Table 14

Question	
15	Arguments against
1	Het moet niet alleen Engels worden want studies in Amerika en

	Canada zijn duur.
	De docenten moeten bijgeschoold worden eventueel, kostbaar
2	en
	methoden moeten in de Engelse taal beschikbaar zijn.

Question 16: Papiamento is nu al een paar jaar een vak in het voortgezet onderwijs dit heeft een positieve invloed gehad op de prestaties van de leerlingen

Question 16	Arguments in favor
1	Kan niet echt antwoord geven, maar kan wel zeggen dat Iln zich momenteel
	beter durven te uiten in hun moedertaal.
2	Den materia Pap y den otro materia den cua alumnonan tin cu expresa nan
	mesmanera KGL, CKV, Papiamento como materia tin influencia positivo.
3	De leerlingen kunnen hun eigen taal beter spreken en uitspreken.
	Natuurlijk positieve invloed, want nu spreken de leerlingen het niet alleen
4	goed
	Papiamento, maar grammaticaal beheersen ze het ook goed.

Table 16

Question	
16	Arguments against
	Moet eerst gepeild worden bij de leerlingen, voordat er gezegd
1	kan
	worden dat er een positieve invloed is geweest.
2	Het is een te zware belasting geworden want de grammatica is
	niet makkelijk.
3	Is er al onderzoek naar gedaan, ik merk niks van de positieve
	invloed op de prestaties van de leerlingen.
4	Het Nederlands is ontzettend achteruit gegaan bij de leerlingen.
	Een leerling van het voortgezet onderwijs kan zich gebrekkig uit-
	drukken in het Nederlands.
5	Niet goed toch eerst de orthografie moet af. Te veel vakken/
	druk op de leerlingen.
	Het is alleen maar een vak erbij, maar de andere vakken zijn toch
6	in het nederlands gebleven.
7	Kunnen we nu nog niet zeggen!

Table 17

Question 17: Het vak Papiamento moet uit het onderwijspakket worden gehaald

Question 17	Arguments in favor
1	Als 2e officiele taal moet met het kunnen lezen en schrijven
2	Alleen in de ciclo Basico en dan afronden. Moet met Papiamento beginnen

op de basisschool.

Table 18

Question	
17	Arguments against
	De eind resultaten zullen alleen maar erger worden. Iedereen
1	heeft
	recht om onderwijs te volgen in hun eigen taal!
2	In principe is hun moedertaal beheersen wel goed, maar zoveel
	accent erop leggen is niet nodig, want verder kunnen ze er toch
	niet zoveel mee.
	De leerling moet de moedertaal goed beheersen en kunnen
3	schrij-
	ven dit kan alleen als het een vak in het onderwijspakket blijft.
4	De eigen moedertaal blijft belangrijk